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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY
OF THE LEGISLATORS OF ALBERTA, 1905-1967

by



H. L. MALLIAH

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Since the establishment of the Province of Alberta in 1905 there were three Political regimes, each dominated by one Political party. The Liberals were the dominant party from 1905 to 1921, the U.F.A. till 1935, and the Social Credit has been dominant since then. This study deals with the social background of the Legislators of Alberta elected between 1905 and 1967. The social, economic and political attributes of these legislators are examined, described and analyzed in this work. Besides, those among them who entered the cabinet are isolated and their social attributes and political career are subjected to similar examination, description and analysis. Data on all legislators and all ministers for each of the political regimes are compared and contrasted. The women legislators are treated separately. In essence, the study is sociological rather than psychological.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Research on legislative behaviour includes among other things the study of the social, economic and political backgrounds of legislators. The object of this study is to find out the backgrounds of the legislators of Alberta. This study, therefore, is confined to a description and analysis of the facts pertaining to these backgrounds of the legislators of Alberta from 1905 to 1969.

Study of the socio-economic and political backgrounds of Alberta legislators was totally lacking before this work was undertaken. This writer has made an effort to fill this vacuum, at least in part, and thereby to provide more information about the legislators of this province.

Many modern behavioural scientists believe that the behaviour of legislators is the product of a series of roles determined by values and attitudes which the members bring to legislative positions and perspectives they develop as incumbents. In the past few decades, much importance was attached to the mega-unit, i.e., the legislature, at the cost of its individual components. This approach to know things political was insufficient. Recently, there has been a fair amount of work on legislative attitudes, particularly in the United States and at the federal level in Canada. In one of the major volumes on the subject, Dwaine Marvick writes:

Certainly one important mode by which social and

political forces register in policy making processes would seem to be through decision makers themselves and the particular sensitivities and beliefs, skills and interests they bring to the task of formulating 'the alternatives which were available before the choice was made.'¹

These sensitivities and beliefs, skills and interests, are to an important degree functions of the legislators' backgrounds. This circumstance makes it both important and useful to study the backgrounds of the legislators in more detail than we have done so far.

The description of the legislators of Alberta in this work has been conceived primarily as a socio-historical study. Since this is a socio-historical study, this writer wants to make it clear from the outset that it is based mostly on printed and published sources and only secondarily on information gathered from personal interviews, mail and telephone communications with the legislators, their relatives and colleagues, and by reference to scrap-books and newspapers. The scrap-books that are maintained by the Glenbow Foundation at Calgary and by the library in the legislature building at Edmonton furnished very useful information. Similarly, an examination of microfilm reels of such newspapers as The Albertan, The Edmonton Bulletin, The Calgary Herald, The Eye Opener, and The Edmonton Journal, was helpful. Archival sources were also used to a considerable extent. In investigating the backgrounds of legislators of earlier periods the

¹D. Marvick, *Political Decision Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1961), p. 14.

writer has had to rely, in most cases, on a variety of biographical reference works and histories of the pioneer days; entries in these were brief and in many cases inadequate. However, every attempt was made to make the information as reliable as possible.

The approach adopted here, as already stated, is socio-historical; the method used is descriptive and analytical. Data used for description and analysis include legislators' birth-place, ethnic identity, religious denomination, education, occupation, age when elected to the legislature, previous political experience and place where it was obtained, length of service, and post-legislative career. As many of those who have served in Alberta's legislature are no longer alive, the socio-historical approach was the only one that could be taken. Studies of legislative behaviour need as a basis as well as a complement a study of this nature. The data presented here should prove essential for the interpretation of behavioural data others may collect on Alberta's policy-makers.

The social characteristics of the legislators of Alberta are not analysed and compared along the lines of political parties, but rather of the three political regimes of Alberta: Liberal (1905-21), U.F.A. (1921-35), and Social Credit (since 1935). This organization was followed because the politics of Alberta, as contrasted to other provinces in Canada, was dominated throughout by a single party. Under this circumstance a more meaningful social analysis of its

legislators could be made by studying them according to three regimes than by any other criterion. Also, data on the legislators and ministers of different periods are analysed and compared with those of the general population of Alberta as reflected in census data from these periods.

Socio-historical data on federal and provincial legislators in Canada have been presented by several authors. Of particular relevance to the present study are John Porter's analysis of the political elite of Canada in his The Vertical Mosaic, Norman Ward's The Canadian House of Commons, and articles by David E. Smith on Saskatchewan legislators and Martin Robin on legislators in British Columbia.²

Both Porter and Ward claim that political leaders in Eastern Canada came from Eastern Canada, but that such leaders were not indigenous to the West. The present writer's hypothesis is that the West was indeed different during the period of colonization, but that in recent years, with a stabilizing population, a western province like Alberta would acquire indigenous political leadership.

Porter's grand hypothesis about Canada's political elite is that it "...is not representative of the population which it leads."³ Here the writer's hypothesis is that the

²D.E. Smith, "The Membership of the Saskatchewan legislative Assembly 1905-1966", Saskatchewan History, Vol. 20. Spring. 1967. p. 41. Martin Robin, "A Profile of the B.C. Legislature", Canadian Dimension, Vol. 3. No. 2, 1966 P. 26-28.

³J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto; Uni. of Toronto Press, (1965), p. 388.

political elite of Alberta's only "old party" regime, the Liberal regime, would conform with Porter's grand hypothesis, and thus would show a close correspondence between political and social elites in regard to various social characteristics.

Regarding the U.F.A. and Social Credit eras, the only published hypotheses that can be drawn on stem from Smith and Robin. Smith indicates high proportion of farmers, "non-conformist" Protestants, and Anglo-Saxons among early CCF legislators in Saskatchewan. This writer would hypothesize a similar social composition for Alberta legislators during the U.F.A. period. The U.F.A. elite should prove agricultural rather than business and professional, and thus most representative - among Alberta political elite - of Alberta's population.

There is little that is suggestive in Robin for Alberta's Social Credit as indeed Social Credit in British Columbia is an imperfect adaptation of a regime developed in a socio-economically different province. Yet the writer will test the hypotheses that evangelical Protestants are a very important element of the Social Credit movement, and that Social Credit furthers political careers of non-Anglo-Saxons.

Finally, regarding education, data from all regimes will be examined in the light of Porter's hypothesis that the unrepresentative nature of Canada's political elite is most striking with regard to educational background.

1.1 Historical Background

A brief account of the historical background of the province whose legislators are the subject matter of this investigation is, of course, indispensable. A narration of the political evolution of Alberta helps to give the setting of the subject matter of this thesis.

The first white men to have stepped on the soil of Alberta were the French. The area that is now called Alberta was a part of the French possessions in America from 1751 to 1763. After the defeat of the French in 1763 all French colonies, including the Canadian West, were taken over by the English. However, a large part of the Canadian West had been under the feudal authority of the Hudson's Bay Company long before the French colonies were taken over by the English in 1763. This company was the sole owner and governor of what then was called Rupert's Land, and it continued to hold that power until 1869. In 1869 the Government of Canada, with the consent and co-operation of the British parliament, bought all the land owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. Shortly afterwards, the geographic area of the Canadian West was named the North-West Territories. The North-West Territories were divided into four districts for postal purposes. Alberta was one of them and its name originated in 1883 when it was named after Queen Victoria's

daughter Louise Caroline Alberta, whose husband was the Marquess of Lorne, the Governor General of Canada during that time.⁴

The British North America Act, under which Canada was established in 1867, also provided for the admission of Prince Edward Island, the North-West Territories, British Columbia and other British colonies in North America. When the Dominion Government bought the North-West Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company it passed an act providing for an administrative machinery of the newly acquired territory.

The years 1869 and 1905 and the period between them are very significant for the purpose of this study. The year 1869 is significant because it was in that year that North West Canada came under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Government. The year 1905 is significant because it fulfilled the aspirations of the people of the North-West Territories: the Dominion Government granted provincial status to the territories that year. The period between 1869 and 1905 is important because it was during this period that the territories witnessed a rapid political evolution which culminated in the creation, in 1905, of two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

It will be recalled that the Dominion Government bought a greater part of the North-West Territories from the

⁴Encyclopaedia of Canada, ed. by W. Stewart Wallace, Vol. 1, p. 33.

Hudson's Bay Company in 1869. Soon after that it passed an act providing for administrative machinery. The new set-up was composed of a Lieutenant-Governor and an executive council whose members were partly elected and partly nominated. From 1875 to 1888, the Lieutenant-Governor exercised full authority over the new territory. The council demanded greater power for itself and more autonomy for the territory. This power struggle seems to have culminated in 1888 when the council was succeeded by an assembly. The assembly enjoyed more power and freedom than its predecessor. From then onwards the assembly became fully representative in character; there were no more nominated members. The assembly consisted of twenty-two elected members whose tenure in the legislative assembly was fixed for three years.⁵ Though these reforms satisfied the local politicians for the time being, it did not take long for the assembly to demand full responsible government for the territories. In 1888 it sent a memorandum to the Dominion Government requesting the grant of full autonomy. The Dominion Government responded favourably to this demand and passed an act in 1891 which fulfilled most of the demands of the assembly. As a consequence an executive Government under the leadership of W.F.G. Haultain was set up. The assembly under his leadership was argued for provincial status for the territories. He was a champion of local autonomy throughout. He was mainly responsible for sending

⁵ Besides twenty-two members, there were three additional members called legal experts who had all the privileges of other members except the voting power.

a delegation of the territorial assembly to Ottawa in 1901 to submit a memorandum requesting the Dominion Government to grant full autonomy. Though the Dominion Government rejected the demand of the delegation, Haultain wrote a series of letters to Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Minister, persuading him to take note of the aspirations of the local people, the growing population of the territory and the need to give provincial status to the territories. Besides, all forces: the leading politicians of both the party in power and party in opposition, the press and other pressure groups, united together and urged the Dominion Government to grant provincial status. With this pressure, Ottawa could not delay the issue any longer. It bowed to the popular demand and granted provincial status to the territory. Thus, in the process of political evolution in the North-West Territories, W.F.G. Haultain's role seems to have been very significant. On the first of September 1905, the territories were reorganized into two new provinces, namely Alberta and Saskatchewan.

It appears that the first man to demand a separate province of Alberta was Dr. R.G. Brett of Banff who was a member of the N.W.T. assembly.⁶ His dream became a reality in 1905 when the two new provinces were created. Alberta was the first to accept the new provincial status; four days later Saskatchewan declared its provincial status.

From the time of the establishment of the North-West

⁶He raised a voice for a separate province of Alberta in 1896.

territorial assembly in 1888 till 1905 when it was abolished, approximately 135 legislators served in that legislative body. Among these legislators, several represented Alberta. Among these were A.C. Rutherford and A.L. Sifton, the first two premiers of this province; C.W. Fisher, the first speaker in the provincial assembly; and L.G. DeVeber, W.T. Finlay and M. McKenzie, who were cabinet members in the Liberal Period. Besides these, R.B. Bennet, Prime Minister of Canada from 1930 to 1935, and prominent M.L.A.'s such as A.S. Rosenroll, J.A. Simpson and J.W. Woolf, were also members of the old territorial assembly. In brief, it can be said that the North-West territorial assembly trained a number of politicians who eventually played leading roles in the early history of Alberta.

1.2 Political Development Since 1905

Haultain who was largely responsible for the speedy political emancipation of the North-West Territories did not believe in the introduction of party politics into the new provinces and seems to have been opposed to Sir Wilfred Laurier's effort to establish the Liberal party in Alberta. No doubt he was a conservative in federal politics, but when it came to the administration of the new provinces he, along with other leading politicians of the day (Francis Oliver and J.H. Ross) was strongly opposed to the introduction of party politics into Alberta. They thought that local administration such as the construction of bridges and roads and the improvement of local conditions could best be done without party

politics. But the Liberal and Conservative parties appeared in the new provinces anyway and, for the time being, the cause of non-party government appeared lost. The Liberal party won the Alberta general election of 1905, winning twenty-one of twenty-three seats in the legislature and A.C. Rutherford formed the first government. For five years the politics of Alberta was placid and uneventful (except for the controversy over the location of the capital and the University of Alberta). In 1910, the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Scandal shook the Government of Rutherford to its foundation. Some cabinet members and legislators under the leadership of Cushing revolted against the premier and three cabinet members; Cushing, Cross and Buchanan resigned their membership in the cabinet in 1910. Unable to cope with the situation, Rutherford resigned his premiership in 1910 and was succeeded by A.L. Sifton who had hitherto been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta. His ministry was in power from 1910 to 1917. Soon after the general election of 1917 was over, A.L. Sifton resigned his provincial premiership to become a minister in the Dominion cabinet. During his rule, two important pieces of legislation were enacted: the Prohibition Act and the Women's Franchise Act. A.L. Sifton was succeeded by Charles Stewart whose government was in power from 1917 to 1921.

(In the legislature elected in 1917 there sat two legislators who styled themselves members of the non-partisan League which eventually merged in the U.F.A.)

In 1921, a sudden drop in the price of agricultural products, failure to enforce the prohibition act, a rising feeling against eastern financiers and a growing sentiment for non-partisan politics led to a landslide victory of the United Farmers of Alberta. The Liberal regime which had not needed to fear any political opposition since 1905 found itself brushed aside in a single election.

As the storm of progressive farmers' movements, which swept western Canada, reached Alberta, several forces joined hands with the new movement, among them the Non-partisan League formed in 1917 under the leadership of Wm. Irvine and the labour group under the leadership of Alexander Ross were important. The United Farmers of Alberta, as its name suggests, was a group organization of agricultural interests. It was a group organization and its leader, Henry Wise Wood, never accepted that his organization was a party. To him, party organization was an autocratic agency through which the monied people divide the people and rule. The U.F.A. started its rule with a strong faith in delegate democracy and ended up with cabinet supremacy. The U.F.A. captured power in 1921 and their first government was organized under the leadership of Greenfield. He was premier for only four years and his cabinet did not face any major political difficulties. In 1925 he resigned and was succeeded by J.E. Brownlee. The transition was smooth. The U.F.A. was an aggressive force politically, economically and socially throughout the 1920's. Besides, it took the labour group into its confidence, which

was represented in the government till 1926. Thereafter, the labour members were no longer in alliance with the U.F.A. because their leader, A. Ross, was defeated in the general election of 1926 and no new labour member was taken into the cabinet. The U.F.A. won the general election of 1926 and 1930 without much difficulty. But the hungry thirties, growing unemployment and falling prices of agricultural products ruined their political reputation. Their position became still more shaky as the result of the Brownlee scandal in 1934.⁷ Subsequently Brownlee resigned the premiership in 1934 and R.G. Reid was asked to form the cabinet. He formed his cabinet in 1934 but his ministry was in power for only one year. In the 1935 general election, none of the U.F.A. candidates was elected and the Social Credit League captured political power.

Unlike the Liberal party, the U.F.A. was a movement. It was a movement in the sense that, in opposing a system which was governed by the traditional parties, it opposed the notion of party itself. Though a transitory political phenomenon it was quite aggressive and influential at the time. It believed in pluralism and group organization, and considered all party politics to be evil. The change from the U.F.A. period to the Social Credit period seems to be in fact

⁷A seduction charge was brought against Brownlee by Miss Vivian MacMillan, a stenographer in the government building, who claimed \$20,000 damages; but the claim was ultimately quashed by the court and Brownlee was cleared of the charge.

a change from "no party government" to "one party government." Social Credit, having originated in Great Britain, also found followers in Australasia; the U.F.A. was part of a regional North American movement. Though there were fundamental differences between those two regimes they had one thing in common. Both of them were movements and both purported to believe in non-party government.

The change in 1935 was of unprecedented magnitude. Thirty-nine U.F.A. members had sat in the out-going legislature. Now there were no U.F.A. members, but fifty-six Social Crediters. The new movement attracted 54.2% of the vote. The election was influenced by religious appeals that emanated from the Prophetic Bible Institute of Calgary, and the promise of a \$25.00 monthly bonus. Thus the success of the Social Credit movement was attributable less to the faults of the old order than to the lure of the new.

When Aberhart, "the radio-made premier" as he was sometimes called, formed his cabinet in 1935, many acute political problems were waiting for him. He could not fulfill his election pledge, a \$25.00 dividend, within eighteen months of his rule. Therefore, a group of "insurgents" soon demanded the redemption of the pledges of the party. This pressure forced the government to enact a series of financial acts in 1937 which were declared ultra vires by the Supreme Court of Canada. But the insurgents attempted to bring down the cabinet of Aberhart. It is said that as many Social Credit M.L.A.'s as thirty-five supported the insurgents, but by 1937 Aberhart

succeeded in making most of the insurgents return to the party ranks. As a result of these developments, Aberhart purged the insurgents from his cabinet. Since Chant would not resign, he was dismissed. C.C. Ross, Cockroft and Hugill did resign. The general election of 1940 was critical in the history of Social Credit movement. This time, instead of the \$25.00 bonus, Aberhart promised a clean and honest government to the electorate. The electorate returned the party to power but with reduced strength. In 1935 they had won fifty-six seats and polled 54% of the total votes; but in 1940 they won only thirty-five seats and polled 43% of the total votes. It should also be noted that most opposition parties formed a coalition to fight against the Social Credit candidates in this election. Though they polled nearly as many votes (43%) as the Social Credit party, the opposition secured only nineteen seats in the house. However, this was a great setback for the Social Credit party.

In 1943 Aberhart died and was succeeded as Premier by E.C. Manning. The transition was smooth. Under the leadership of Manning, the Social Credit party consolidated its political strength and remained strong throughout. It did suffer losses in the general election of 1955 when the Liberals won fifteen seats and polled 117, 741 votes, while the Social Credit party won thirty-seven seats and 175, 553 votes. But the strength of the Social Credit reached its peak to date in 1959 and 1963. In the general election of 1959 it won sixty-one out of a total of sixty-five seats in the legislature,

and in the 1963 general election it captured sixty out of sixty-three seats in the assembly. During this period the opposition parties were practically wiped out in the legislature. However, the opposition parties, especially the Conservative party under the leadership of Peter Lougheed which polled nearly 26% of the total votes, regained strength in 1967 general election.

In the early part of 1969, Manning resigned the premiership and his seat in the legislature and Harry Strom, his Minister of Agriculture, formed the government.-

There were three premiers in each of the three political regimes of Alberta. Probably this the only thing in common among them. The Liberal regime, with its traditional parties, was quite distinct from the other two. Though the U.F.A. and Social Credit were movements, they are diametrically opposed in their basic philosophies. This fact justifies the division of the political history of Alberta into three periods conforming to the three regimes.

During all three regimes the opposition parties were very weak and the party in power had a dominant position. The philosophical, political and economic foundations of these three groups in power were distinct and often diametrically opposed. If the Liberals believed in two-party politics, the U.F.A. did not believe in party politics at all, and the Social Credit party gives at least some evidence that

it believes in one-party government.⁸

During the Liberal period the strongest opposition party was the Conservative party which elected a total of twenty-eight members during the years 1905-1921. On the other hand, the Liberal party elected a total of seventy-two members to the legislature. The other parties of Alberta were either non-existent at the time or very weak and insignificant numerically. In brief, the Liberal party had a most favorable competitive position from 1905 to 1921. This accounts for the title of the period: "Liberal regime."

Similarly, the U.F.A. ruled Alberta for fourteen years without any fear of the opposition. The strongest opposition party during this period was the Liberal party which elected a total of thirty-two members in the three elections held during the U.F.A. period. The Non-partisan League merged with the U.F.A. in 1921 and there was an alliance between the labour group and the U.F.A. which lasted for five years from 1921 to 1926. These forces made the U.F.A. impregnable. The U.F.A. won solid majorities in the three elections during this period. It elected fifty-five different legislators. All these observations justify calling this period the U.F.A. regime.

If the Liberal and the U.F.A. periods can be called regimes, the Social Credit party has been in power for the last thirty-four years, from 1935 to 1969. This time period

⁸Witness its slogan in the 1963 election, when a 63-seat legislature was elected: "Sixty-three in "sixty-three."

is double the length of the Liberal regime and two-and-one-half times the length of the U.F.A. regime. Even at its lowest ebb it had a solid majority in the legislature. In several elections it virtually wiped out the opposition parties. On the whole the Social Credit party elected 164 different members to the legislature; during the same period the Liberals elected twenty-three members to the legislature, and the Conservatives eleven. In other words, all the opposition parties were only a tiny part in the legislature. No party was ever able to challenge the position of the Social Credit party. Hence, its period in office has a claim to the title "regime."

In sum, Alberta politics is divided into three historical periods so distinct that much of this work will deal with comparisons among them.

CHAPTER II

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF LEGISLATORS

This Chapter contains a detailed account of the birth-places, ages at the time of election, levels of education, ethnic origins, religious denominations, father's status or occupation, previous political experience, tenures and political affiliations of Alberta Legislators.

There were, in all, 432 distinct legislators in Alberta.¹ Their distribution among the political regimes is as follows: 109 were first elected in the Liberal regime, 98 in the U.F.A. and 225 in the Social Credit period. Among the 109 legislators of the Liberal era, thirteen members also served in the U.F.A. period. While three legislators served throughout the Liberal period, twenty-three members sat during the entire U.F.A. era. All of them, except one, were U.F.A. members. But none of them managed to survive the election of 1935 to serve in the Social Credit period.² During the political transition of 1935, five members, three Liberals and two Conservatives, were re-elected and thus served in both

¹The statistics are based on the figures found in the appropriate volumes of the Canadian Parliamentary Guide. Those legislators who resigned immediately after they were elected either to give place for defeated candidates or due to any other reason, are excluded from this study. Included are legislators elected during the years 1905-1967.

²L. Joly, who was a U.F.A. member in 1930, joined the Social Credit party after 1935 and returned to the legislature in 1952.

U.F.A. and Social Credit regimes. Though the average tenure of the Social Credit M.L.A.'s is much higher than it is in the case of M.L.A.'s of the other two regimes, only one member of the Social Credit era has served from 1935 to the present day (1969). The credit of being legislator for the longest period goes to A.J. Hooke. E.C. Manning would have shared this distinction had he not resigned his seat in the early part of 1969.

The turnover of legislators at the general elections of Alberta is shown in Table II-1 and Figure II-1.

The turnover of legislators in the general elections which mark the beginning of new regimes (1921, 1935) was very high; it was highest in the general election of 1935 which inaugurated the Social Credit regime. Only five persons, or 8% of the total members, were re-elected. In 1921, only thirteen members were re-elected. One noteworthy feature is that turnover of legislators in the general elections held during the U.F.A. period was very stable; in both the 1926 and 1930 general elections thirty-nine members were re-elected. On the other hand, turnover of legislators in the general elections held during the Social Credit era varied. The turnover rate was subject to ups and downs during this period. Re-election of members varied from 56.1% in the 1940 general election to 79.4% in the general election of 1963.

2.1 Ages at Which the Legislators were First Elected

The ages of the legislators when they were first elected to the legislature are grouped under ten separate categories

TABLE II-1

TURNOVER OF LEGISLATORS IN THE
GENERAL ELECTIONS OF ALBERTA

Year of the General Election	Total No. Elected	No. of Re- Elected Members	Percent- ages
1905	25	-	-
1909	41	16	39.0
1913	56	23	41.1
1917	58	19	38.8
1921	59	13	22.0
1926	60	39	65.0
1930	63	39	62.0
1935	63	5	8.0
1940	57	32	56.1
1944	60	37	61.7
1948	57	45	79.0
1952	61	41	67.2
1955	61	42	68.9
1959	65	40	61.5
1963	63	50	79.4
1967	65	46	70.8

Percentage of new members elected

Year of election

Percentage of new members elected

1907

1910

1913

1917

1921

1924

1928

1932

1936

1940

1944

1948

1952

1956

1960

1964

1968

1972

1907

1910

1913

1917

1921

1924

1928

1932

1936

1940

1944

1948

1952

1956

1960

1964

1968

1972

as shown in Table II-2. The ages of 404 legislators at that juncture are known. The average age of these 404 legislators, when first elected, was 45.7 years. The data indicate that the number of the legislators first elected as youths, at an age

TABLE II-2

AGE GROUPS OF LEGISLATORS WHEN FIRST
ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE

Age Group	No.	%
21 - 25	2	16.6
26 - 30 Young	19	
31 - 35	46	
36 - 40	65	70.8
41 - 45 Middle	80	
46 - 50 Age	66	
51 - 55	75	
56 - 60	30	12.6
61 - 65 Old	13	
66 and over	8	
Total	404	
Not Known	28	
Grand Total	432	

below thirty-five years, was comparatively small. Only 16.6% of the legislators belong to this group. On the other hand, two hundred and eighty-six legislators, or 70.8% of the members, were middle age (36-55 years) when they first entered the legislature. Only 12.6% of the members were of relatively old age, of more than fifty-five years, when first elected. Two members entered the legislature before reaching the age of twenty-six. Thomas A. Brick, a Liberal, born in Crompton, Quebec, entered the first legislative assembly at the age of twenty-five. The youngest member elected so far is R.C. Clark, the present Minister of Education. Born in 1937 in Alberta, he entered the legislature after a by-election in 1960, at the age of twenty-three. At the other extreme, eight legislators were first elected when they were past the "normal" retirement age of sixty-five. First elected at the highest age was Joseph M. Scruggs, born in the United States in 1889, elected to the legislature in the general election of 1959 at the age of seventy.

2.2 Birth-places of Legislators

The places of birth of legislators are shown in Table II-3. The term "birth-place" is interpreted to mean not township or city, but province in the case of Canadian born legislators and country in the case of legislators born outside Canada. The table shows that Ontario-born legislators constitute the largest single group. Of 413 legislators about whom data are available, 128 were born in Ontario. This group

TABLE II-3

PLACES OF BIRTH OF LEGISLATORS

Places of Birth	No.	%
Alberta	79	19.2
Ontario	128	31.0
Quebec	16	3.9
Prince Edward Island	9	2.2
Nova Scotia	11	2.7
New Brunswick	10	2.4
Manitoba	10	2.3
British Columbia	3	0.7
Saskatchewan	7	1.7
England	37	
Scotland	20	
Ireland	8	28.3
United States	50	
Australia	1	
South Africa	1	
Russia-Ukraine (2+5)	7	
Italy	4	
Denmark	2	
Sweden	1	
Austria	3	5.6
Hungary	2	
Netherlands	1	
Rumania	1	
China	1	
India	1	
Total	413	100
Not Known	19	
Grand Total	432	

constitutes 31% of the legislators. Though Ontario was a prolific source of Alberta's legislators in the beginning of Alberta's political history, there has been a declining trend over the course of time.³ This is quite understandable in the light of the historical background of Alberta. The young and sparsely populated province was gradually developing a population similar to that of the rest of the prairie. In the first two political regimes of Alberta, there was not a single legislator born in Alberta. It is during the Social Credit era that there is an increase in the number of legislators born in the province. Seventy-nine legislators or 19.2% of the total membership were born in Alberta. Another feature that deserves our attention is that more than 94% of the legislators were born in areas influenced primarily by the Anglo-Saxon culture. It is also interesting to note that 140 legislators or 33.9% were born outside of Canada. Twenty-one members were born in Continental European countries. One member each was born in China,⁴ India, Australia and South Africa. Thus the places of birth of Alberta legislators are scattered over a large part of the globe.

Regarding the specific birth place there is information on 401 members. But in the classification of these birth places as rural and urban, some problems are involved. Since

³The birth-places of legislators in the three regimes are compared in Chapter III.

⁴The members born in China and India were of Anglo-Saxon extraction.

the birth places of the members are scattered over many countries, and since many were born many decades ago, the writer did not find it easy to ascertain whether a given birth place was rural or urban. Furthermore, a place which was deemed as "rural" 100 years ago might have ceased to be rural now. It can, however, be said that the majority of members were born in rural areas. The author's interpretation of available data suggests that 264 members, or 65.6%, were born in rural areas and 137 members, or 34.4%, in urban areas.

2.3 Educational Levels of Legislators

Education levels of our population are shown in Table II-4. Data are available on 421 members. Available information suggests that out of the 421 members, 139 or 33% had

TABLE II-4

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF LEGISLATORS

Educational Level	No.	%
Less than High School	139	33.0
High School	72	17.1
Collegiate Education	56	13.3
University Degree or Training	154	36.6
Total	421	100
Not Known	11	
Grand Total	432	

a low level of education. (Any education less than high school is considered a low level of education for the purpose of this description). Those who had only public school education or private education come under this category. Further, seventy-two members or 17.1% had high school education.

Another group of fifty-six members, or 13.3%, had collegiate and technical school education. All legislators who had education in technical institutes, colleges or business colleges are grouped under the category of "collegiate education." In essence, this level of education represents post-high school education, but not university education. Finally, an impressive number of 154 legislators, or 36.6%, either had some university education, or they held a university degree.

A search into the places where this higher education was obtained reveals a plethora of institutions of higher education which are scattered over several provinces of Canada, the U.S.A., England, Ireland, Scotland and France. Seventy-one members were educated in Alberta, forty-seven in Ontario, thirty-two in United States and sixteen in Quebec. Three of the legislators were educated at Harvard University, one in Oxford, and one at the University of Paris.⁵ The Universities of Alberta and Toronto have trained fifty-eight and twenty-four legislators respectively.

⁵DeVeber and Tweedie of the Liberal period and Lougheed of Social Credit period were graduated of Harvard University; Giroux of the U.F.A. and Social Credit eras graduated in the University of Paris; Campbell and Stuart in Trinity College and Martin in the University of Oxford.

TABLE II-5

PLACES WHERE HIGHER EDUCATION WAS OBTAINED

Place	No.
Alberta	71
Ontario	47
Saskatchewan	4
Manitoba	9
British Columbia	2
New Brunswick	2
Nova Scotia	5
Prince Edward Island	4
Quebec	16
United States	32
England	9
Scotland	5
Ireland	2
France	1
Total	209*

*The discrepancy in the figures shown here and in the Table II-4 is due to the fact that the same person may have studied in several universities.

2.4 Occupations of Members

The occupational patterns of the legislators are complex. They are confusing because sometimes the same person had different occupations at different stages of his or her life. Besides, there are also instances where the same person had more than one occupation at the same time. For example, ranching and farming, or farming and storekeeping as occupations were pursued by the same person at the same time. However, an attempt was made, as far as possible, to take into account that occupation which the member pursued just before his election to the legislature. The occupations of the members are categorized into a few broad groupings as shown in Table II-6. Data are available on 424 legislators. There were 139 legislators, or 32.8%, who had pursued business or management as their main occupation. This constitutes the largest single group. Next comes farming which accounts for 134 members, or 31.6% of the legislators. Fifty-one members, or 12% of the legislators, were lawyers. Medicine, including dentistry, has had considerable representation; twenty-three legislators were doctors. Forty-five members, or 10.6% of the legislators, were teachers. While eight legislators were engineers another eight members came from the civil service. Labour was represented by only five members, or 1.2% of the total. All other occupations are brought under the heading "others" and this group consists of eleven members, including housewives, clergy, and one author.

TABLE II-6
OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS

Occupation	No.	%
Business and Management	139	32.8
Farming	134	31.6
Law	51	12.0
Teaching	45	10.6
Medicine	23	5.4
Engineering	8	1.9
Civil Service	8	1.9
Labour	5	1.2
Others: Housewives Clergy	11	2.6
Total	424	
Not Known	8	
Grand Total	432	

2.5 Ethnic Origins of Members

As regards ethnic origin, data on 402 legislators are available. The information, whether obtained from the Parliamentary Guide, correspondence or interviews, all corresponds with the Canadian practice of giving the "original" origin, thus avoiding the category "Canadian." The bulk of legislators belong to the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group. This group, consisting of 319 members, accounts for slightly less than 80% of the legislators. This group may be subdivided into four divisions, namely, English, Scottish, Irish and American. Though all Americans (United States) may not necessarily belong to the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group, they were at least strongly influenced by an Anglo-Saxon culture. Among the subdivisions of the Anglo-Saxon group, legislators originating from the English Stock form the greatest number, consisting of 134 members, or 33.3%. Next come the legislators who are Scottish in origin. The Irish element is also significant in terms of its proportion: sixty members, or 15% of the legislators, were Irish in origin. Among the Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups, the American subdivision, consisting of sixteen, was the smallest. The number of legislators who are descended from the French ethnic group is small, amounting to only twenty-three legislators, or 5.7%. All other ethnic groups are Continental European and they are grouped under the heading "others." Together they constituted 14.9% of the legislators. Among them the Ukrainians with eighteen members, or 4.5% of the total legislators, are significant. Neither the American

TABLE II-7

ETHNIC ORIGINS OF ALBERTA LEGISLATORS

Ethnic Group	No.	%
English	134	33.3
Scottish	109	27.1
Irish	60	15.0
American	16	4.0
French	23	5.7
Others: Danish	6	
Norwegian	7	
Swedish	4	
Italian	3	
Dutch	3	
Austrian	2	
Romanian	1	14.9
Swiss	1	
Hungarian	1	
Belgian	1	
Czechoslovak	1	
Russian	1	
Ukrainian	18	
German	11	
Total	402	
Not Known	30	
Grand Total	432	

Indians nor persons of any other non-European ethnic group ever became legislators.

2.6 Religious Denominations of Legislators

The religious denominations of 408 members are known, and are presented in Table II-8. Though all the legislators were Christians, they belonged to many sub-sections of that religion. Some of the smaller sects are combined with related major religious units with a view to making the description less complex. For example, Greek Catholic legislators are grouped under Catholic; those declaring themselves as Ukrainian, Greek and Rumanian Orthodox are included under Orthodox. Among the legislators, the United Church of Canada takes the first position. Though this church came into existence only in 1925, eighty-six legislators are listed as its members. Since the United Church was formed of all Methodists, all Congregationalists, and some Presbyterians, the listings for these denominations must be treated with caution. In any event, the United Church, its components, and non-United Presbyterians together account for 50.9% of the legislators. Forty-seven or 11.5% of legislators belonged to the Church of England. There were twenty-four Baptist legislators who constituted 5.9% of the total membership. Nineteen legislators belonged to the Mormon Church, and ten to Evangelical sects.⁶ Eleven

⁶This category is composed of eight sub-groups: Free Masons, Calgary Bible Institute, Church of Brethren, Christian Missionary Alliance, Reformed Christian Church, Unitarian Church and Masonic Order and Evangelical.

TABLE II-8

RELIGIOUS DENOMONATIONS OF LEGISLATORS

Religious Denomination	No.	%
Presbyterian	80	19.6
Methodist	37	9.0
Congregationist	5	1.2
United Church of Canada*	86	21.1
United Church of Canada plus Presbyterian - Sub Total	208	50.9
Church of England	47	11.5
Lutheran	9	2.2
Baptist	24	5.9
Evangelical Sects	11	2.7
Mormon	19	4.7
Undenominated Protestant	33	8.2
Protestants - Sub Total	351	86.1
Orthodox	12	2.9
Catholic**	45	11.0
Total	408	100
Not Known	24	
Grand Total	432	

*A part of Presbyterians, Methodist, Congregationists merged with the United Church of Canada when it was established in 1925.

**Five Greek Catholics are included in this group.

per cent of the legislators were Catholics, and 2.9% Orthodox. Protestant legislators far outnumbered all others, accounting for 86.1% of all members of the legislature.

2.7 Father's Status or Occupation

At the outset, the writer would like to make it clear that the data on this subject are most insufficient. Information was found for only 233 of the 432 members. Even for these 233 legislators, the available information does not permit a clear-cut classification. We know definitely that eighty-four of legislators' fathers were farmers, that thirty-four were in business, that thirteen were professional people, that eight were clergymen and that seven were politicians. All we can say of the remaining eighty-one members is that seventy came from families of some social or economic standing, while seventeen came from poor families.

2.8 Previous Political Experience of Legislators

Information is available about the political experience of 383 legislators. The term "political experience" is used in a broad sense. It means experience gained in the legislative bodies of municipalities, provinces of Canada or other countries, or in party organization, or through personal involvement in elections.

The largest single group is composed of legislators who most probably had no political experience.⁷ But this

⁷The writer has come to this conclusion on two grounds: First, where the source of information has made it clear that the legislator had no political experience; such cases are rare. Second, if the source of information mentions political experience along with other information of some members but does not mention anything about political experience of others on whom biographical information is given. All such cases are classified as "no political experience."

does not mean that these legislators were insignificant. As a matter of fact, many legislators who come under this group were socially prominent figures. Many of them were presidents or secretaries of various social and/or religious organizations.

A large proportion of the legislators who had previous political experience had obtained that experience in Alberta. One hundred eighty-six members, or 84.2%, had their political training in Alberta; thirteen members, or 5.9% had acquired political experience in the province of Ontario; nine members,

TABLE II-9

PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS

Type of Political Experience	No.	%
Legislative Experience	139	36.3
Organizational Experience	50	13.0
Experience through Personal Involvement in Elections	32	8.4
No Political Experience	162	42.3
Total	383	100
Not Known	49	
Grand Total	432	

or 4.1%, had been members of the Territorial Assembly of the North-West Territories and lastly, it is interesting to note that seven members had their political training in the federal parliament of Canada.⁸

TABLE II-10

PLACES WHERE PREVIOUS POLITICAL
EXPERIENCE OBTAINED

Place	No.	%
Alberta	186	84.2
Ontario	13	5.9
North-West Territorial Assembly	9	4.1
Federal Parliament	7	3.1
New Brunswick	2	
Prince Edward Island	1	2.7
U.S.A.	2	
Saskatchewan	1	
Total	221	100

⁸ A.J. Mackay, of the Liberal period, had been minister in the Government of Ontario. DeVeber, Rutherford, Hoadley, Bennett, Sifton, J.W. Woolfe, Simpson, Rosenroll, and Fisher had been members of the N.W.T. assembly. Horner, Shaw (1921-1925), Landeryou (1935-1940), Hansell, Holowach and Johnston had been members of the Federal House of Commons before they were elected to the legislature of Alberta.

2.9 Tenures of Legislators

Table II-11 shows that 202 legislators, or 46.8% on whom data are available, served periods of five years or less; most of these were elected only once. Therefore, close to one half of the legislators served in one legislative period only. Another 112 members, or 25.9%, served for periods of six to ten years. Seventy-two legislators, or 16.7%, served for periods of eleven to fifteen years. One hundred and eighteen legislators served the legislature for more than eleven years; of these, twenty-three did indeed serve for more than twenty-one years. At this point we should note that some of the members whose tenures are included in the above categories are still serving as legislators and they will serve for longer periods.

TABLE II-11
TENURES OF LEGISLATORS

Tenure (in years)	No.	%
0-5	202	46.8
6-10	112	25.9
11-15	72	16.7
16-20	23	5.3
21-25	13	3.0
26-30	6	1.4
31-35	4	.9
Total	432	100.0

Finally, it may be worthwhile to present the cases where breaks in the legislative tenures of the legislators occurred, or cases where legislative tenure was terminated during a legislative period. In seventy-three cases there was either a break in tenure or tenure was terminated either due to death or resignation.⁹

2.10 Political Affiliations of Legislators

As has been pointed out in Chapter I, a study of party politics of Alberta indicates that political parties were considered as unnecessary for the good administration of the new province by several political figures. The Non-partisan League, formed in 1917, disappeared soon after but the progressive farmers who influenced the Canadian politics in the 1920's were in favour of non-party politics. Since the farmers were in power in Alberta, they supported that idea and kept it alive for years to come. The U.F.A. never called themselves a party and advocated non-party politics in the province. This was also true, at least initially, of Social Credit. The numbers and strength of political parties of Alberta should be considered in the light of this background.

The political affiliations of members are shown in Table II-12. The Liberal and the Conservative parties are the two oldest parties of Alberta, having been active since the province was created in 1905. Whereas the Liberal party

⁹ Details of termination or break of tenures of the members are given in the Appendix. Not all of the apparent changes of constituency listed there were real ones.

TABLE II-12

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF MEMBERS

Party	No.	%
Liberal	115	26.6
Conservative	49	11.3
U.F.A.	56	13.0
Social Credit	164	38.0
Socialist & Labour	12	2.8
C.C.F. - N.D.P.	5	1.1
Independent	26	6.0
Soldier Representatives	5	1.2
Total	432	100.0

has elected 115 legislators, the Conservative party has elected only 49 legislators.¹⁰ Their representatives are found in all three regimes in the history of Alberta. Neither the C.C.F.-N.D.P. nor the Socialist party has ever had a numerically strong position in the province. The other two parties, namely the U.F.A. and Social Credit, having been initially movements against "party," had meteoric rises. The U.F.A. disappeared from the political scene in 1935 almost as

¹⁰Independent Liberals, independent Conservatives and independent Social Credit members are considered as Liberals, Conservatives or Social Crediters respectively and grouped accordingly.

suddenly as it had appeared in 1921.¹¹ The Social Credit movement has managed to stay in power from the time it captured power from the U.F.A. in 1935. It has elected 164 legislators to 1967. The U.F.A. elected its first member in 1919;¹² in all it elected 56 members. An insignificant number of 12 members belonged to the Socialist-Labour party. Twenty-six legislators belonged to minor political groups. Broadly speaking they were independents. Members belonging to the Non-partisan League and Unity groups are included in the independents' list.

The Labour party was very active during the U.F.A. period. As a matter of fact fourteen members out of the party's total membership of seventeen, were elected during the U.F.A. regime. There was an informal coalition between the U.F.A. and the Labour party during this period. The fact that Alex. Ross who was a Labour representative was taken into the U.F.A. cabinet illustrates the point. During World Wars I and II it was found desirable to give special representation to those who were fighting the war. Soldiers were allowed to elect two representatives during World War I and three during World War II. This system was in force only during the war and was therefore in force only for the general elections of

¹¹W.L. Jolly who was U.F.A. legislator from 1921 to 1930, became a Social Crediter and was elected on that label in 1952.

¹²Alexander Moore was elected in the Cochrane by-election of 1919.

1917 and 1944.

The Conservative party was comparatively strong during the Liberal period. Though its strength declined in 1921, it has persisted on the political scene of the province. In 1967, the party managed to regain the official opposition status it had lost 46 years earlier.

2-11 Summary

A remarkable fact noted here is the almost complete turnover of membership in 1921 and 1935, when the U.F.A. and Social Credit, both new movements, were swept into office. This turnover justifies treating the three periods, 1905-1921, 1921-1935, and 1935 to the present as separate regimes. In the next chapter, the legislators of these three periods will be compared.

CHAPTER III

A COMPARISON OF LEGISLATORS OF THE DIFFERENT POLITICAL PERIODS

In the previous chapter a general description of legislators of Alberta was presented. In this chapter, the legislators first elected under the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes are compared with reference to their age at first election, place of birth, education, occupation, ethnic origin, religious denomination, previous political experience, parental status, tenure and political party.

3.1 Ages of Legislators at Time of First Election

Data on this topic, as mentioned in the previous chapter, are limited to 404 members. The ages of legislators when first elected are listed under ten groups which are shown in Table III-1. The data suggest that there is little variation among the different regimes along this dimension. In all political regimes, legislators first elected between the ages of thirty-six and fifty-five far outnumbered the rest. Specifically, 70.2%, 76.6% and 68.4% of legislators during the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes belonged to these groups respectively. The number of those elected at a young age (35 years and below)

TABLE III-1

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF AGE GROUPS
OF LEGISLATORS WHEN FIRST ELECTED TO
THE ALBERTA LEGISLATURE DURING DIFFERENT REGIMES

Age Group	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
21 - 25	1	1.0	0		1	.5
26 - 30	6	5.9	2	2.1	11	5.3
31 - 35	17	16.8	12	12.7	17	8.1
36 - 40	20	19.8	13	13.8	32	15.3
41 - 45	24	23.8	21	22.3	35	16.7
46 - 50	11	10.9	18	19.2	37	17.7
51 - 55	16	15.8	20	21.3	39	18.6
56 - 60	3	3.0	6	6.4	21	10.1
61 - 65	2	2.0	1	1.1	10	4.7
66 & above	1	1.0	1	1.1	6	2.9
Total	101	100.0	94	100.0	209	100.0
Not Known	8		4		16	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

was slightly higher in the Liberal regime than in the other two regimes. Whereas the Liberal regime had 23.8% legislators who were in this category, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes had only 14.9% and 13.9% of them respectively. On the other hand, the Social Credit regime had the highest percentage of members first elected after the age of 55, and the Liberal regime the lowest.

3.2 Birth-Places of Legislators

Ontario had been, for a long time, the cradle of a large number of Alberta legislators. During the Liberal regime 54.1% of legislators were born in Ontario. Though the number of legislators born in Ontario diminished gradually, still Ontario-born legislators constituted the largest single group in the first two regimes, and during the Social Credit regime it was second to Alberta-born legislators. While 54.1% of the legislators were born in Ontario during the Liberal rule, 32.7% and 18% of legislators of the U.F.A. and Social Credit regimes were born in Ontario respectively. Another noteworthy feature is the total lack of Alberta-born legislators in the first two regimes. During the Social Credit regime, however, we notice a sharp increase in the number of Alberta-born legislators with 36.9% of legislators being native-born during this regime. A large number of legislators, in all three political regimes, i.e., 75.3%, 50% and 68.7% of legislators during the Liberal, the

TABLE (III-2)

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF BIRTH PLACES OF LEGISLATORS

Place of Birth	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alberta	0	0	0	0	79	36.9
Ontario	59	56.2	32	34.0	37	17.3
British Columbia	0		0		3	
Manitoba	1		3		6	
New Brunswick	8		1		1	
Nova Scotia	3	19.1	3	16.0	5	14.5
Prince Edward Island	1		4		4	
Quebec	7		4		5	
Saskatchewan	0		0		7	
Subtotal, Canada	79	75.3	47	50	147	68.7
England	4		13		20	
Scotland	5	11.4	11	27.7	4	12.6
Ireland	3		2		3	
United States	8	7.6	13	13.8	29	13.6
Russia	1		3		3	
Italy	1		0		3	
Austria	1		2		0	
South Africa	0		1		0	
China	0		1		0	
India	0	5.7	0	8.5	1	5.1
Rumania	0		1		0	
Denmark	1		0		1	
Sweden	1		0		0	
Australia	1		0		0	
Hungary	0		0		2	
Netherlands	0		0		1	
Total	105	100.0	94	100.0	214	100.0
Not Known	4		4		11	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes were born in Canada respectively. Next comes the United Kingdom; England, Scotland and Ireland together have given birth to a considerable number of Alberta's legislators. 11.4% of legislators of the Liberal regime, 27.7% legislators of the U.F.A. regime and 12.6% of legislators of the Social Credit regime were born in the United Kingdom. Further, the United States has contributed a large number of legislators to Alberta. This contribution has increased over a period of time, rising from 7.6% during the Liberal regime to 13.6% in the Social Credit regime.

3.3 Educational Levels

Educational levels of legislators of different political regimes are shown in Table III-3. This table shows that a large percentage (43.8%) of legislators of the Liberal regime had attained a lower level of education than their counterparts in the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes. Of the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes 39.8% and 24.8% of legislators respectively, come under this category. Conversely, the Social Credit regime contains the largest number of well-educated legislators. Legislators with university training (during Social Credit era) are compared to population in Chapter VII. For other regimes there is no reliable data.

TABLE III-3

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF LEGISLATORS OF

DIFFERENT REGIMES

Level of Education	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than High School	46	43.8	39	39.8	54	24.8
High School	9	8.6	7	7.1	56	25.7
Collegiate Education	13	12.4	19	19.4	24	11.0
University Degree or Training	37	35.2	33	33.7	84	38.5
Total	105	100.0	98	100.0	218	100.0
Not Known	4		0		7	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

3.4 Occupations of Members of Different Regimes

A large number of legislators during the Liberal and the Social Credit regimes had business as their main occupation. In other words, 38.3% of legislators of the Liberal period and 35.3% of legislators of the Social Credit period were businessmen just before they were elected to the legislature. This group constituted the largest single group in these two periods. But this group takes the second place in the U.F.A. period. Only 21.9% of legislators were businessmen during the farmer-based regime. As might be expected, legislators who were farmers constituted the largest group. Fifty per cent of the legislators of this period were farmers. In the Liberal and the Social Credit periods, the number of legislators who pursued farming constituted the second largest group. During these periods 30.8% and 24% of the legislators respectively were farmers. Next in the order comes the legal profession. An appreciable number of legislators of all periods listed law as their main occupation. However, its strength has declined in the course of time, from 17.8% during the liberal period to 9% in the Social Credit regime. The teaching occupation, almost unrepresented during the Liberal regime, grew to 17.2% during the Social Credit period. During the U.F.A. period, 5.2% of the members had been teachers. The sharp increase in teacher legislators in the Social Credit regime was signaled by the fact that William Aberhart, the founder of the

TABLE III-4

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF OCCUPATIONS OF LEGISLATORS

Occupation	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Business and Management	40	38.3	21	21.9	78	35.3
Farming	33	30.8	48	50.0	53	24.0
Law	19	17.8	12	12.5	20	9.0
Teaching	1	0.0	6	6.2	38	17.2
Medicine	8	7.5	2	2.1	13	5.9
Engineering	2		3		3	
Labour	2		1		2	
Civil Service	0	5.6	2	7.3	6	8.6
Clergy	1		0		4	
Housewives	1		1		4	
Total	107	100.0	96	100.0	221	100.0
Not Known	2		2		4	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

Social Credit movement, himself was a teacher and became the Premier as well as Education Minister of Alberta after he and his followers captured political power in 1935. The largest number of M.L.A.s who were doctors, was found in the Liberal era. While the Liberal period had 7.5% medical M.L.A.s, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods contained 2.1% and 5.9% of them respectively. Finally, all other occupations including labour were numerically insignificant. Even the U.F.A. period, with its essentially pro-labour stand and various labour and socialist members, only saw one single worker in the legislature.

3.5 Comparison of Legislators' Ethnic Origins

If we just glance at the figures related to ethnic origins of legislators which are shown in Table III-5, we will be impressed by the fact that legislators belonging to the Anglo-Saxon stock far outnumbered the rest and have maintained a dominant position in all political periods of Alberta's history. However, there has been a gradual decrease in the strength of this group. This group, composed of the English, the Irish, and the Scottish elements, constituted 86.5%, 76.6% and 69.2% of the legislators of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods respectively. Further, though the strength of Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups as a whole declined in number, the number of legislators belonging to the English ethnic group has increased from 28.3% during the Liberal era

TABLE III-5

CROSS-COMPARISON OF LEGISLATORS'

ETHNIC ORIGINS

Ethnic Group	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	29	28.3	31	33.0	74	36.1
Scottish	36	34.9	26	27.6	47	22.9
Irish	24	23.3	15	16.0	21	10.2
French	5	4.9	7	7.4	11	5.4
Russian- Ukrainian	1	.9	4	4.3	14	6.8
American (U.S.)	1	.9	5	5.3	10	4.9
Swedish	2		0		2	
Dutch	1		0		2	
Swiss	1		0		0	
German	2		3		6	
Danish	1		1		4	
Belgian	0	6.8	0	6.4	1	13.7
Norwegian	0		1		6	
Rumanian	0		1		0	
Hungarian	0		0		1	
Italian	0		0		3	
Austrian	0		0		2	
Czechoslovak	0		0		1	
Total	103	100.0	94	100.0	205	100.0
Not Known	6		4		20	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

to 36.1% in the Social Credit period. The Scottish ethnic group, on the other hand, has declined from 34.9% during the Liberal rule to 22.9% in the Social Credit era. The same is true of legislators belonging to the Irish ethnic group. Its strength has declined from 23.3% during the Liberal period to 16% and 10.2% under the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods respectively. The strength of the group from the United States grew from one single member in the Liberal regime to about 5% during the other regimes. The French ethnic group had representation commensurate with its strength in the population, but its share declined under the Social Credit regime. On the other hand, the Russian-Ukrainian ethnic group has grown from one member during the Liberal era to 6.8% under the Social Credit rule. Similarly other European ethnic groups as a whole have grown in number from 6.8% in the Liberal regime to 13.7% during the Social Credit period.

3.6 Religious Affiliations of Members

Before the United Church of Canada was formed in 1925, a large number of legislators belonged to the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches. After the formation of the United Church, its members must, for comparative purposes, be considered along with the remaining Presbyterians. The members of the United Church of Canada and the Presbyterians constituted the largest single group in all three

TABLE III-6

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF MEMBERS
OF THE THREE POLITICAL REGIMES

Religious Denomination	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Presbyterian	41	40.2	23	24.5	16	7.5
Methodist	24	23.5	11	11.7	2	.9
Congregational	1	.9	0		4	1.8
United Church of Canada	0		11	11.7	75	35.4
Subtotal United Church & Presbyterians	66	64.6	45	47.9	97	45.6
Church of England	16	15.7	10	10.6	21	9.9
Lutheran	4	3.9	0		5	2.4
Baptist	3	2.9	6	6.4	15	7.1
Evangelical Sects	2	2.0	1	1.0	8	3.8
Mormon	1	1.0	4	4.3	14	6.6
Undenominated Protestants	2	2.0	14	14.9	17	8.0
Subtotal Protestants	94	92.1	80	85.1	177	83.4
Orthodox	1	1.0	2	2.1	9	4.3
Catholic	7	6.9	12	12.8	26	12.3
Total	102	100.0	94	100.0	212	100.0
Not Known	7		4		13	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

regimes of Alberta: sixty-six members, or 64.6%, forty-five, or 47.9%, and ninety-seven, or 45.6% of the legislators of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes belonged to this group respectively. This signifies a gradual decline in the strength of the group. Yet, viewed from a broader perspective there was no fundamental change in the religious affinities of the members. The Protestants had a dominating position in all regimes of Alberta: ninety-four members, or 92.1% of the Liberal, eighty members, or 85.1% of the U.F.A. and 177 members, or 83.4% of the Social Credit periods were Protestants respectively. Though the members belonging to Orthodox Churches were few in all regimes, their position was better during the Social Credit regime. Similarly, the Catholics also improved their position numerically in the Social Credit period; their strength increased from 6.9% in the Liberal period to 12.3% in the Social Credit era.

3.7 Members' Political Experience

The total population of this study is 432; of this number, 139 had previous legislative experience. Those who had previous legislative experience constituted the largest single group during the Liberal era; they accounted for 48.3% of the total membership of this period. Their counterparts in the other two regimes constituted 37.1% and 30.7% respectively. Besides, 20.2% of legislators of the Liberal

regime, 34.8% of legislators of the U.F.A. regime and 16.1% of members of the Social Credit era had either organizational or election experience. On the whole, 68.5% of legislators of the Liberal era, 71.9% of members of the U.F.A. period and 46.8% of legislators of the Social Credit Government had political experience of some sort. From this it is evident that the U.F.A. regime had the largest percentage of legislators who had political experience, and the Social Credit regime the smallest. The Social Credit regime had the largest number of legislators without previous political experience; 53.2% of them had no political experience when first elected to the legislature. This was due to the sudden rise of the party in 1935. Unlike the U.F.A., which had been in existence for more than a decade before its sudden rise to power in 1921 (which provided some opportunity for the U.F.A. members to acquire experience in party organization), Social Credit was a completely new party. Being new, it had no sufficient number of experienced members. Besides, a considerable number of the Social Credit legislators were teachers who had had little chance to obtain political experience before they were first elected to the Legislature. The U.F.A. had the least number of politically inexperienced legislators with 28.1%, whereas the Liberal period had 31.5%.

In Chapter II, Table II-11, an account was given of places where political experience was gained by the legislators. In Table III-8 the different political regimes are compared in regard to these places. Information is

available about 204 members; of them 169 gained their previous legislative political experience in Alberta. In other words an impressive 76.5% of the legislators obtained political experience in Alberta though many of them had not been born in the Province. These members are distributed among the three political regimes as follows: Liberal period, thirty-nine, the U.F.A. period, fifty, and the Social Credit period, eighty. A total of thirteen members had their political experience in the Province of Ontario; seven of them were in the Liberal period, two in the U.F.A. era and four in the Social Credit period. Nine members, all of whom belong to the Liberal regime, had their experience in the North West Territorial assembly. Seven members had served in the parliament of Canada; one of them belonged to the U.F.A. era and the remaining six to the Social Credit period.

3.8 Political Affiliation

In the previous chapter, a general account of legislators' political affiliation was given. Here a description of the distribution of legislators belonging to all parties and groups, their role, and number in each of the three regimes is given. They are shown in Table III-9. The comparative strength of parties over time is presented in Figure III-1.

The Liberal party swept the general elections of 1905 and captured twenty-three of the twenty-five seats in the house. The Conservatives won only two seats. Thus,

TABLE III-7

PRELEGISLATIVE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF
LEGISLATORS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS

Political Experience	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Legislative Experience	43	48.3	33	37.1	63	30.7
Party Organiza- tional Experience	8	9.0	26	29.2	16	7.8
Active Part in General Elections	10	11.2	5	5.6	17	8.3
No Political Experience	28	31.5	25	28.1	109	53.2
Total	89	100.0	89	100.0	215	100.0
Not Known	20		9		20	
Grand Total	109		98		225	

the first legislature of Alberta contained only members of the two traditional parties. The Conservatives did not fare much better in the general elections of 1909 when they attained only three seats in a legislature which had a total strength of forty-one. Though they won an impressive number of seats in the general elections of 1913 and 1917, electing seventeen members in each one of these elections, Conservative strength declined in the U.F.A. period. While the Liberals were in power, the Conservatives were in opposition. But they could not retain this status during the U.F.A. era. Then the Liberals who lost political power to the United Farmers attained official oppo-

TABLE III-8

PLACES WHERE LEGISLATORS OBTAINED THEIR
POLITICAL TRAINING

Place	Liberal Regime	U.F.A. Regime	Social Credit Regime
Alberta	39	50	80
Ontario	7	2	4
N.W.T.A.	9	0	0
Federal Parliament	0	1	6
U.S.A.	1	0	1
New Brunswick	1	1	0
Prince Edward Island	0	0	1
Saskatchewan	0	0	1
Place Unknown	4	10	3
Total	61	64	96

Grand Total = 221.

sition status in the house. They retained that status throughout the U.F.A. period and in the first legislature of the Social Credit regime.

Due to insurgency in the ranks of Social Credit party in 1937, a number of Social Credit members crossed the floor of the house, styled themselves as "independent progressives" and sat as a separate group. Cockroft who resigned his cabinet seat in 1937 became its leader and McLellan became the whip of this new group. They could have

TABLE III-9

POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF LEGISLATORS

Party/Group	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Liberals	72	62.6	20	17.4	23	20.0	100
Conservatives	28	57.1	10	20.4	11	22.5	100
U.F.A.	1	1.8	55	98.2	0		100
Social Credit	0		0		164	100	100
Labour-Socialist C.C.F.-N.D.P.	3	18.7	7	43.8	6	37.5	100
Independents	3	11.1	6	22.2	18	66.7	100
Soldiers' Representatives	2	40.0	0		3	60.0	100
Total	109		98		225		432

established themselves as the Official Opposition. Curiously, they neither joined other opposition groups nor identified themselves as opposition. This group claimed as many as thirty-five followers. But as a result of a compromise between Aberhart and the insurgents most of the rebels returned to party ranks. But six members, Cockroft, Barnes, Hugill, Chant, Blue and McLellan did not compromise with Aberhart. This squabble and the failure of Aberhart to implement such election promises as a monthly payment of \$25.00 led to reverses for Social Credit in the 1940 election. Other details of this phenomenon are given elsewhere in this study. Here it is sufficient to say that nineteen in-

dependents were returned to the legislature in the 1940 general election. One of them became the opposition leader. In 1944 the Independents calling themselves the "Unity Group" formed the opposition in the house under the leadership of J.P. Page.¹

From 1959 to 1963 the opposition status was shared by both the Liberal and the Conservative parties. In 1963 the Liberals won three seats (highest among opposition parties) and formed the Official Opposition in the house. But in 1967 they lost this status to the Conservatives who won six seats in the general election of 1967. The point of interest is that neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives ever became a threat to the ruling party. This is specially so in the Social Credit era. The conservatives did not win a seat in the general elections of 1940, 1944, 1948 and 1963; the Liberals, on the other hand, won seats in all but the 1940 general election. In the 1955 general elections, winning fifteen seats, it even showed signs of strength. But in 1959 it lost fourteen of these seats to the Social Credit party.

Table III-10, figures III-1 and 2 show the dominant position of the Liberals, the U.F.A. and the Social Crediters in their respective regimes and the position of dominant parties and opposition parties.

The Liberals, the Conservatives and the Socialists elected members to the legislature in all three regimes.

¹ J.P. Page told the writer in an interview that a few Liberal members also joined the Unity Group.

Independents also won seats in all three political eras. Among the three parties just mentioned, the Liberal party has been by far the largest numerically and the strongest politically. There were in all 115 Liberal members; the distribution of Liberal members among the three regimes is as follows: seventy-two of them were in the Liberal period, twenty in the U.F.A. era, and twenty-three in the Socred period. Against this the Conservatives were fewer in number; their total was forty-nine: twenty-eight of them were in the Liberal period, ten in the U.F.A. period and eleven under the Social Credit regime.

The Socialist elements were weak politically throughout the history of Alberta. During the Liberal period there were only three socialist-labour members. During the U.F.A. era they gained some strength only to loose it in the next regime. While there were eight socialist members in the U.F.A. rule, there were only six in the Social Credit period. From 1935 onwards, the newly created C.C.F. absorbed all Socialist elements; but like its predecessors it remained a small group and in 1962 became part of the New Democratic party.

So far as the independent members are concerned, a large number of them sat in the Social Credit period. This number, however, included the "Unity Party" of 1944. Since the ruling parties always had solid majorities, the role of Independents was never crucial.

TABLE III-10

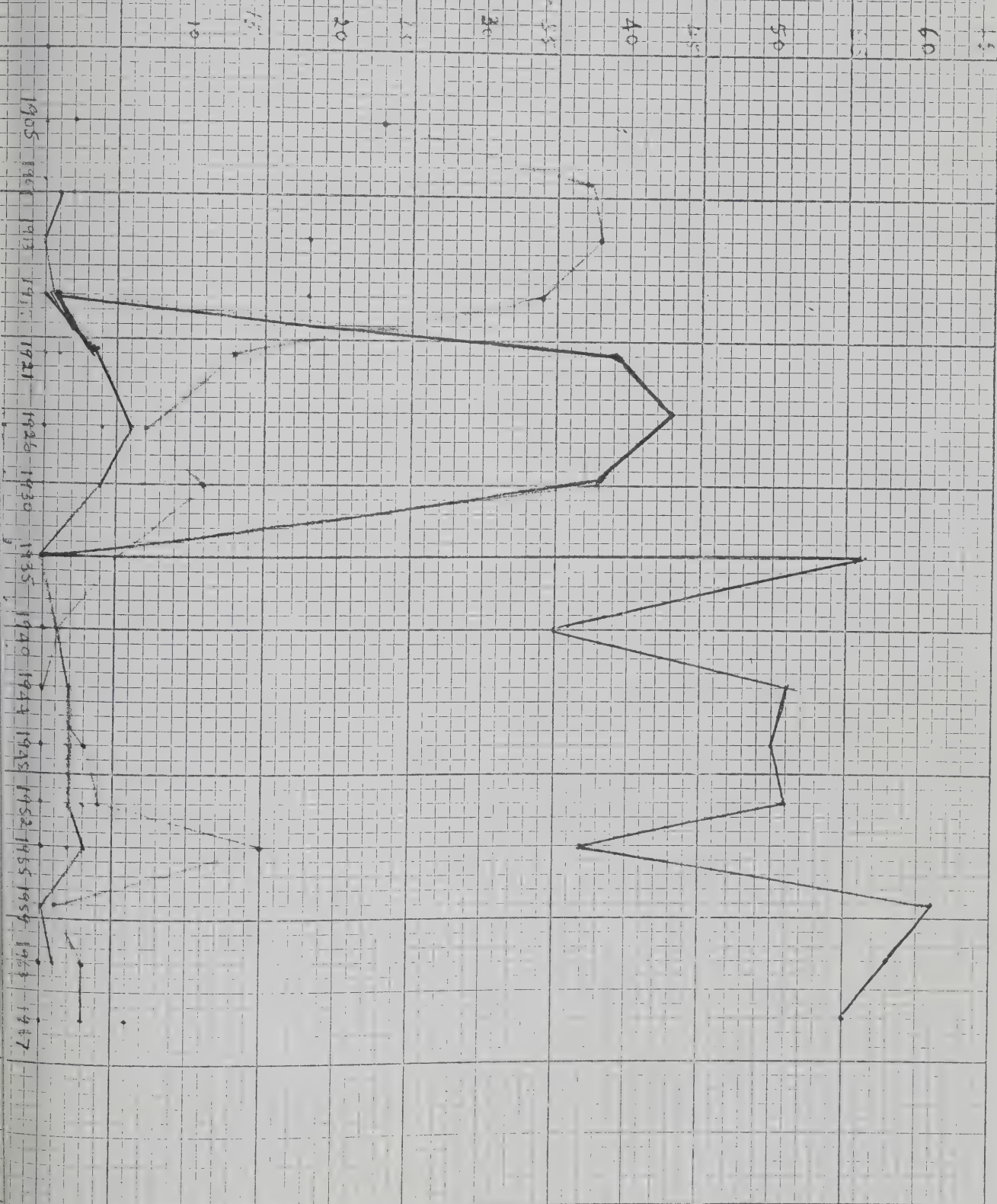
RATIO BETWEEN DOMINANT
PARTIES AND OPPOSITION PARTIES

Party	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Dominant Party	72	66.1	55	56.1	164	72.8
Opposition Parties	37	33.9	43	43.9	61	27.2
Total	109	100.0	98	100.0	225	100.0

The U.F.A. and the Social Credit parties did not elect their members in all regimes. The U.F.A. had elected a lone member to the legislature in 1918; they did not survive the debacle of 1935.² The Social Credit party which captured political power in 1935 had just then come into existence. Thus all its legislators are concentrated in the period beginning in 1935. The U.F.A. elected a total of fifty-seven members. Social Credit has the distinction of electing the largest number of legislators; it has elected 164 legislators so far.

²W. Joly who was a U.F.A. member in 1926, converted to Social Credit and was elected on its ticket in 1952.

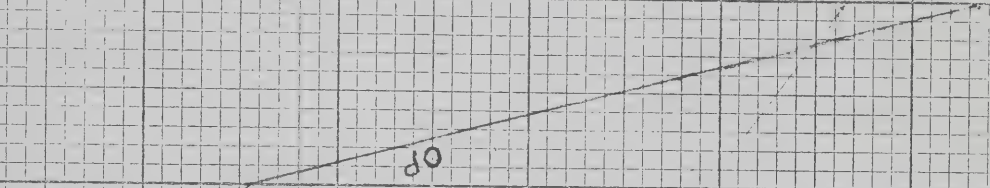
No. of legislators.



percentage

length of service in years

DP = Dominant party



3.9 Legislators' Tenures Cross-Compared

For the purpose of this comparison, the members elected in 1967 have been excluded. Included for the Social Credit period are only those legislators whose service started before 1967. The total for the Social Credit period, therefore, is only 160, and the grand total 367. Of these, the number of legislators who have served for less than five years is 180. Out of these 180 members, fifty belong to the Liberal regime, forty-six to the U.F.A. period and 84 to the Social Credit period. Next comes a

TABLE III-11
COMPARATIVE FIGURES REGARDING THE
LENGTH OF TENURES OF LEGISLATORS OF
DIFFERENT REGIMES

Years of Tenure	Liberal Regime		U.F.A. Regime		Social Credit Regime	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 5	50	45.9	46	46.9	84	52.5
6 - 10	40	36.7	23	23.5	25	15.6
11 - 15	13	11.9	29	29.6	25	15.6
16 - 20	3	2.8	0	0	14	7.8
21 - 25	2		0		7	
26 - 30	1	2.7	0		2	7.5
31 - 35	0		0		3	
Total	109	100.0	98	100.0	160*	100.0

* The tenures of present legislators are excluded.

group of 88 members who have served from six to ten years. The Liberal regime had forty of them, the U.F.A. regime twenty-three and the Social Credit period twenty-five. Another group of eighty-four legislators who had served from eleven to twenty years are distributed among the three regimes as follows: sixteen in the Liberal era, twenty-nine in the U.F.A. regime and 39 in the Social Credit period. The number of legislators who had served for more than twenty years was small. In all, fifteen members had served

TABLE III-12

LENGTH OF SERVICE OF DOMINANT
PARTY MEMBERS AND MEMBERS OF OTHER PARTIES

Length of Service	Dominant Party		Others		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 5	105	23.1	122	26.8	227	49.9
6 - 10	89	19.6	35	7.7	124	27.3
11 - 15	53	11.6	7	1.5	60	13.1
16 - 20	22	4.8			22	4.8
21 - 25	12	2.6			12	2.6
26 - 30	6	1.4			6	1.4
31 - 35	4	.9			4	.9
Total	291		164		455	*100.0

* The discrepancy in the total number is due to inclusion of seventeen members who served in both the Liberal and the U.F.A. regimes, and six who served in the U.F.A. and Social Credit regimes.

for more than twenty years. Three of them belonged to the Liberal regime and the rest to the Social Credit era.

3.10 A Comparison of the "Typical Legislator" in the Three Regimes

If we take the modal characteristics of legislators during the Liberal period, we come up with this typical legislator: He was between 41 and 45 years of age when first elected to the legislature, was born in Ontario, had common school education, pursued business as his occupation, belonged to the Scottish ethnic group, was a Presbyterian, had previous political experience, obtained that political experience in Alberta, was politically associated with the Liberal party and served in the Legislature for a period of one to five years.

The typical legislator during the U.F.A. regime is similar. He was of course associated with the United Farmers of Alberta. Unlike his typical colleague from the previous period, he was a farmer and belonged to the English ethnic group.

The typical legislator of the Social Credit regime is of course a Social Crediter. He was older when first elected, in the 51-55 age bracket. Born in Alberta, he is in business and has had higher education. He belongs to the United Church, served also less than six years, and he lacks pre-legislative political experience.

CHAPTER IV

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE CABINET

MINISTERS OF ALBERTA

Since Alberta has a cabinet type of government, the principal executive authority lies with the ministers. The cabinet represents the elite group which determines the policies and programmes of the government. The importance of the group having principal executive authority in modern government is undisputable. Therefore, the writer has decided to devote special attention to the cabinet ministers of Alberta. This chapter contains a descriptive account of the social and historical backgrounds of these individuals. A large part of the data, in this regard, is secured from the Canadian Parliamentary Guide, the Canadian Annual Review and from interviewing some people who happened to know individual ministers.

Alberta has had seventy-five ministers; of these eighteen belonged to the Liberal regime, fourteen to the U.F.A. and forty-three to the Social Credit regime.

4.1 Liberal Regime

The Liberal Party was in power for sixteen years, from 1905 to 1921. During this period there were three distinct ministries. The Rutherford cabinet was the first among the three Liberal cabinets and lasted from 1905 to 1910. When this ministry was formed it consisted of five

ministers. Among them L.G. DeVeber resigned in 1906 to become senator of the Dominion Parliament and W.T. Finlay resigned in 1909 due to ill health. As a result of these resignations, the ministry was reconstituted in 1909, and three more ministers, D.M. Marshall, W.A. Buchanan and P.E. Lessard were added. Immediately after the resignation of Rutherford, the second ministry came into operation under the leadership of A.L. Sifton. It was in power until after the general election of 1917, when A.L. Sifton resigned his premiership to become a cabinet minister in the Dominion Government. The Sifton cabinet consisted of four ministers in the first instance, and three more were added to it on May 4, 1912. M. MacKenzie died in 1913 and W.G. Gariepy was appointed in his place. The third and the last Liberal party cabinet was formed under the leadership of Charles Stewart in 1917 and was in power till the general election of 1921 when the Liberal party was dethroned by the U.F.A. Stewart's cabinet consisted of seven ministers. When C.W. Cross retired and Gariepy resigned in 1918, three more ministers - G.P. Smith, A.G. MacKay and J.L. Côté - were appointed. Thus there were only eighteen different ministers during the entire Liberal regime. During this period there were 109 legislators. The ratio of legislators to cabinet members thus stood at 6.1:1. In other words, 16.4% of the legislators held cabinet positions.

4.2 Birth-Places and Parental Status of Ministers

Table IV-1 shows that none of the cabinet ministers were born in Alberta. All except Finlay, who was born in Ireland, was born in Canada. The majority of ministers, eleven of the eighteen, were born in Ontario. Three ministers were born in Quebec and another two in New Brunswick.

So far as the occupation or status of the fathers of our population is concerned, eight were farmers and three were businessmen. A.L. Sifton was the son of a politician of considerable repute. All we know about C.R. Mitchell is that his family was socially prominent. Information about the social background of four ministers is missing.¹ On the whole, it can be said that the majority of the ministers came from the middle-class strata of the society.

¹J.L. Cote, W.T. Finlay, A.G. MacKay and M. MacKenzie.

TABLE IV-1
BIRTH-PLACES AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION
OF CABINET MEMBERS, LIBERAL PERIOD

Place of Birth	No.	Father's Occupation	No.
Ontario	11	Farmer	8
Quebec	3	Business	3
New Brunswick	2	Clergy	1
Ireland	1	Politician	1
Not Known*	1	Socially prominent, but occupation not known	1
		Not Known	4
Total	18	Total	18

*M. MacKenzie

4.3 Comparison of Birth-Places of the Ministers and the Legislators

Fifty-nine, or 56.2%, of the total legislators of this period were born in Ontario; eleven of them eventually became cabinet ministers. Further, seven legislators were born in Quebec; three of them served in the Liberal cabinets. Eight legislators of this period were born in New Brunswick; of these, two served in the Liberal ministries. One of the three legislators born in Ireland was a

cabinet member. While legislators' birth places are spread over twenty-five different geographic areas, birth places of the ministers were located in four geographic areas only. By implication, legislators born in twenty or twenty-one geographic areas did not serve in cabinets during the Liberal regime.

4.4 Ethnic Origin and Religious Denominations

The ethnic origins of the cabinet members are shown in Table IV-2. It shows that all ministers except three belonged to the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group; three were French in origin. Among the members belonging to the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group, the Scots had the lion's share (i.e., 47.1%) of the Liberal ministries. Six others were English and one was Irish.

The religious denominations of members seem to have been in conformity with the social structure of Alberta: 83.4% of the ministers were protestants and only 16.6% of the total members were Catholics. Among the sub-groups of Protestantism, Presbyterians were strong numerically: 50% of the members were Presbyterians. Three other members were Methodists and two members belonged to the Church of England.

A total of thirty-six legislators (34.9%) belonged to the Scottish ethnic group; eight of them were ministers

in the Liberal regime.² Another twenty-nine legislators were English in origin; six of them became cabinet members. Among the five legislators who were French in origin, three served in Liberal cabinets. Lastly, though there were twenty-four legislators of Irish origin, only one was a minister.

Forty-one legislators of this period belonged to the Presbyterian Church; nine of them became cabinet members. Three of twenty-four legislators of the Methodist Church were in the cabinet. While only two out of sixteen Anglican legislators served in the cabinet, three of the seven Catholics had that privilege.

²In addition, Alexander Ross, who was elected to the legislature as a Labour representative in 1917 general election and was re-elected in 1921, was taken into the U.F.A. cabinet formed under the leadership of Greenfield, as a result of an informal agreement between the U.F.A. and the Labour group in the legislature. He and G. Hoodley, who was elected as a Conservative during the Liberal period (also later a U.F.A. minister) are the only legislators who became ministers in a regime other than the one in which they were first elected.

TABLE IV-2

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS
OF MINISTERS, LIBERAL PERIOD

Ethnic Origin	No.	%	Religion	No.	%
English	6	33.3	Presbyterian	9	50.0
Scottish	8	44.4	Methodist	3	16.7
French	3	16.7	Church of England	2	11.1
Irish	1	5.6	Baptist	1	5.6
			Catholic	3	16.6
Total	18	100.0	Total	18	100.0

4.5 Education and Occupation

The data indicate that a large majority of ministers, 50%, had a high level of education. This group had either university training or a university degree. Another 22.2% of the ministers had collegiate education. The remaining 27.7% of the members had high school or less than high school education.

Two occupations, the legal profession and business, had a large representation in the cabinets of the Liberal regime. Nearly 67% of the members were either lawyers or businessmen before they were elected to the legislature. The legal profession made up 44.5% of the total number and

constituted the largest single group. Agriculture, which was the major occupation of the people of Alberta during that period, accounted for only two Liberal ministers. However, one point should be borne in mind. The writer has taken into account those occupations which the members pursued just before they were elected to the legislature. The description of the occupation of ministers is difficult because not only had some of them followed different occupations at various stages of their pre-legislative careers, but also there are instances where the same person had more than one occupation at a given point of time.

Nineteen lawyers became legislators during the Liberal period; eight of them served in the cabinet. Thus, the percentage of lawyer-legislators was 17.8% whereas their counterparts in the cabinet accounted for 44.5% of the cabinet members of the Liberal period.

TABLE IV-3

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS OF MINISTERS, LIBERAL PERIOD

Occupation	No.	%	Education Level	No.	%
Law	8	44.5	Public School	3	16.7
Business	4	22.3	High School	2	11.1
Farming	2	11.2	Collegiate	4	22.2
Journalist	1	5.5	University	9	50.0
Engineer	1	5.5			
Surgeon	1	5.5			
Teacher	1	5.5			
Total	18	100.0	Total	18	100.0

4.6 Educational Levels of the Legislators and the Ministers

Fifty-five legislators (52.4%) of the Liberal period had high school or less than high school education. Five of them served in the Liberal ministries and constituted only 27.7% of the total number of cabinet members. Against this, there were fifty legislators who had higher education; of them thirteen members eventually became cabinet members. While 47.6% of the legislators of this period had higher education, the percentage of the cabinet members who had the same level of education was 72.2%. To be more specific, thirteen legislators obtained higher education in Colleges

and technical institutes; four of them served in the cabinet. Thirty-seven legislators obtained the higher education in Universities; nine of them served in the cabinet. Clearly, cabinet members had received more formal education than ordinary legislators of the Liberal period.

4.7 Ages at Which the Ministers were Elected to the Legislature and Appointed to the Cabinet

A large group, 61.1% of the ministers, were first elected to the legislature when they were in the age group of 36-55 years. In other words, eleven ministers were in their "middle" age when first elected to the legislature. Five ministers, or 27.8% of the cabinet members, were elected to the legislature for the first time when they were "young";³ two other ministers were "old" when first elected to the legislature.

The ages at which the ministers were first appointed to the cabinet are categorized in Table IV-4. The table shows that three ministers were "young" when appointed to the cabinet; twelve members, or 66.6% of the cabinet members, were in their "middle" age when first appointed to the cabinet and two members were "old" at the time of their appointment to the cabinet. Thus, there were fewer members

³Persons below the age of thirty-five years are considered young, those between 36 and 55 as middle aged, and those who were above fifty-five years as old, for the purpose of this description. These age categories are made on the basis of the ages at which the ministers were first elected to the legislature and first appointed to the cabinet.

in the "young" and "old" categories than in the "middle" age category. Obviously the cabinets of the Liberal period were dominated by those appointed to them in "middle" age.

TABLE IV-4

AGES AT WHICH THE MEMBERS ENTERED THE
LEGISLATURE AND THE CABINET, LIBERAL PERIOD

Age groups at which they entered the Legislature			Age groups when they became Ministers		
Years	No.	%	Years	No.	%
31-35	5	27.8	30-35	3	16.7
36-40	3		36-40	3	
41-45	2	61.0	41-45	3	66.6
46-50	2		46-50	2	
51-55	4		51-55	4	
56 & over	1	5.6	56 & over	2	11.1
Not Known*	1	5.6	Not Known*	1	5.6
Total	18	100.0	Total	18	100.0

* M. MacKenzie.

4.8 Comparison of Members' Age at First Election to the Legislature and the Age of Members when Eventually Appointed to the Cabinet

Twenty-four legislators of the Liberal regime were below thirty-five years when first elected to the legislature; of them five eventually became ministers. Twenty members were in the age group of 36-40 when first elected to the legislature; of them three were appointed to the cabinet. Twenty-four legislators were in the age group of 41-45 years; two of them served in the cabinets. Eleven members were in the age group of 46-50 when first elected to the legislature; of them two were appointed to the cabinet later on. Another sixteen members were elected to the legislature for the first time when they were between 51-55 years of age; of these, four eventually went to the cabinet. Lastly, six persons were elected to the legislature when they were above fifty-five years of age; and of these one was appointed to the cabinet. To sum up, of twenty-four legislators of this era first elected as "youths", five served in the cabinet; of seventy-one legislators elected in "middle" age, eleven were appointed to the cabinet; of the six legislators first elected when "old", one became a minister later on.

4.9 Ministers' Legislative Tenure Compared with the Legislative Tenure of Legislators

Three of the fifty legislators of the Liberal period

who served in the legislature for less than five years were appointed to the cabinet; in other words, three ministers had a total legislative service of less than five years. Forty legislators served for 6-10 years; six of them served in the ministry. While thirteen legislators served in the legislature for 11-15 years, seven ministers served that long in the legislature. Three legislators served for 16-20 years; one of them became a minister. Lastly, three legislators served for more than twenty-one years; again, of them one was a minister. One-half of the ministers were drawn from those legislators who served the legislature for more than ten years.

If we look at the picture obversely, we find that two backbenchers of the Liberal era served more than 20 years, another two 16-20 years, and another six more than 10 years.

4.10 Cabinet Ministers' Tenure in the Legislature; Their Pre-Cabinet Legislative Tenure, and Their Cabinet Tenure

The distribution of the total legislative tenure of the ministers is as follows: three served in the legislature for less than five years, six members served from 6-10 years, seven served from eleven to fifteen years, one for nineteen years, and one for twenty-one years.

Eleven of the eighteen ministers had no pre-cabinet service in the legislature; they were appointed to the cabinet immediately after they were elected to the legislature.

One member served for less than two years before being appointed to the cabinet. Two members served from 3 to 5 years, three from 6 to 8 years, and one for nine years before they were appointed to the cabinet.

The length of service of the ministers in the cabinet is as follows: Eleven members served in the cabinet for less than five years, three members served from 6-10 years and four members served from 11-15 years.

TABLE IV-5

TOTAL LEGISLATIVE TENURE, PRE-CABINET
LEGISLATIVE TENURE, AND CABINET TENURE OF MINISTERS,
LIBERAL PERIOD

Total Leg. Tenure		Pre-Cabinet Leg. Tenure		Cabinet Tenure	
Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.
1-5	3	None	11	1-5	11
6-10	6	2 years or less	1	6-10	3
11-15	7	3-5	2	11-15	4
16-20	1	6-8	3		
21-25	1	9-11	1		
Total	18	Total	18	Total	18

4.11 Pre-Legislative and Post-Legislative Political Experience of Ministers⁴

Eight cabinet members of the Liberal era had legislative experience before they entered the legislature. Two other members were active in the party organization; one of them, D.M. Marshall, had been a defeated candidate for the House of Commons. But four members seem to have had no previous political experience.

4.12 Comparison of Pre-Legislative Political Experience of the Legislators and Cabinet Members

Forty-three legislators of the Liberal period obtained political experience by serving in legislative institutions such as municipal and local councils, assemblies of other provinces or Federal parliament before they were elected to the legislature; eight of these were appointed to the cabinet. In other words, eight of the eighteen ministers had some legislative experience before they were elected to the legislature. Further, eight legislators obtained some political experience by serving in the party organization; three of them eventually became ministers. Ten legislators obtained political experience by contesting in elections; none of them became minister. Lastly, twenty-

⁴The term "political experience" means training gained through legislative bodies or party organization or by contesting in elections.

eight legislators of the Liberal period apparently had no pre-legislative political experience, yet four of these served as cabinet members.

The post-legislative careers of ministers were as follows: Five of them - Rutherford, Cross, G.P. Smith, A.J. McLean and W.T. Finlay - retired from politics. Eight others - W.A. Buchanan, J.L. Cote, L.G. DeVeber, P.E. Lessard, D.M. Marshall, W. Gariepy, A.L. Sifton and C. Stewart - entered Federal politics. The first five became senators, and the last three were elected to the House of Commons. A.L. Sifton and C. Stewart became cabinet members in the Dominion Government. A.G. MacKay and M. McKenzie died while they were in office, and C.R. Mitchell and J.R. Boyle were appointed judges. Data are not available on C.W. Cushing's post-legislative career. It appears that entry into federal politics accounts for the brief ministerial tenure of several cabinet members.

TABLE IV-6

PRE-LEGISLATIVE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND
POST-LEGISLATORIAL CAREERS OF MEMBERS, LIBERAL PERIOD

Pre-Legislative Political Experience	No.	Post-Legislative Careers	No.
Legislative Experience	8	Retired from Politics	5
Experience in the Party Organization	3	Entered Federal Politics	8
No Political Experience	4	Entered the Bench	2
Not Known	3	Died While Still in Service	1
		Not Known*	1
Total	18	Total	18

* W.H. Cushing

4.13 U.F.A. Period

The U.F.A. was in power in Alberta from 1921 to 1935, during which period there were three different ministries. In 1921, Herbert Greenfield formed his eight-member cabinet, which lasted for four years. A cabinet composed of eight members was formed by J.E. Brownlee in 1925.⁵ This ministry lasted for nine years from 1925 to

⁵When Alexander Ross was defeated in the 1926 general elections, he was succeeded by O.L. McPherson.

1934 when it came to an end due to Brownlee's involvement in a public scandal. R.G. Reid formed his cabinet in 1934 and it lasted for only one year. The strength of his ministry was nine. Altogether, only fourteen persons served as ministers during the entire period. Against this number there was a total number of 98 legislators. The ratio between the legislators and ministers was 7:1. In other words, only one-seventh of the legislators had the opportunity of becoming members of the Cabinet.

4.14 Places of Birth and Father's Occupation

As in the previous regime, none of the cabinet members of the U.F.A. period was born in Alberta. But surprisingly 50% of the members were born in foreign countries as against 6% in the previous regime. Four of the members were born in Ontario. The details of the places of birth of the cabinet members and the occupation of their fathers are given in Table IV-7.

It is regrettable that sufficient data could not be obtained on the occupation or status of the parents of the ministers. Data are available on nine of them.

TABLE IV-7

PLACES OF BIRTH AND
FATHER'S OCCUPATION, U.F.A. PERIOD

Place of Birth	No.	Father's Occupation	No.
Ontario	4	Business	4
England	3	Prominant families, but occupation not ascertained	2
Scotland	3		1
Prince Edward Island	2	Editor	1
Quebec	1	Labourer	1
U.S.A.	1	Not Known	5
Total	14	Total	14

4.15 Ethnic Origin and Religious Denominations

The ethnic origins of the ministers of the U.F.A. regime did not vary very much from the ministers of the Liberal period. All cabinet members of the U.F.A. era belonged to the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group: five were English in origin, eight were Scottish, and one was Irish. Thus, 57.1% of the members of the U.F.A. cabinets were Scottish in origin.

The religious denominations of ministers of this era closely follow their ethnic identities. Nearly 93% of

them were Protestants and the rest were Catholics. Among the Protestants five were Presbyterians; two were Methodists and two belonged to the Church of England. Further, two were undenominated Protestants and one was a Baptist.

Though the legislators of the U.F.A. period, as did their counterparts in other periods, belonged to a plethora of ethnic groups, only three ethnic groups, the English, Scottish and Irish, had representation in cabinets. There were thirty-one legislators of the English ethnic group of whom five became cabinet members. The Scottish element fared much better; eight of twenty-six legislators who belonged to the Scottish ethnic group became cabinet members. On the other hand, only one out of fifteen legislators of Irish stock served in the cabinet.

In regard to religion, the Presbyterian legislators played a large role in the U.F.A. cabinets: of twenty-three in the legislature, five became ministers. Of the eleven Methodist legislators, two served in a cabinet. We also find two cabinet members each among the eleven members of the Church of England and among the fourteen legislators who were undenominated Protestants. There were ten legislators who were members of the United Church of Canada; one of them was a cabinet member. Another cabinet seat went to a Baptist, the Baptists having had six followers in the legislature. Though a large number of religious groups went without representation in the cabinet, the absence of

representation of the Catholic Church, which had twelve followers in the legislature, is a striking fact.

TABLE IV-8
ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND RELIGIOUS
DENOMINATIONS OF MINISTERS, U.F.A. PERIOD

Ethnic Group	No.	Religion	No.
English	5	United Church of Canada	1
Scottish	8	Presbyterian	5
Irish	1	Methodist	2
		Church of England	2
		Baptist	1
		Undenominated Protestants	2
Total	14	Total	14

4.16 Education and Occupation

Data show that a majority (57%) of the U.F.A. ministers had higher education; those who had university education constituted the largest single group. On the other hand, 42.8% of the U.F.A. ministers had no post-secondary education.

Regarding the occupations of members, there is considerable information, which reveals the following facts:

A little more than 71% of the cabinet members were farmers just before they were elected to the legislature. This seems to justify the name of the regime. Two ministers were lawyers. More details are given in Table IV-9.

Regarding education, it was already pointed out that forty-six legislators of the U.F.A. period had no post-secondary education, while 53% of the legislators had higher education. The percentage of the cabinet members who had this level of education was 57%. Thus, there is a close similarity between the legislators' level of education and the educational level of the cabinet members.

If we compare the occupations of the ministers and the legislators we are bound to notice that the farmers had a more dominating position in the cabinet than in the legislature. While only 50% of the legislators were farmers, 71.5% of the cabinet members were farmers before they were elected to the legislature. Of the twelve legislators who practiced law, two served in the cabinet. Significantly, though business and management were represented by twenty-one legislators, only one of them was a minister.

TABLE IV-9

EDUCATION LEVELS AND OCCUPATIONS, U.F.A. PERIOD

Level of Education			Occupation		
	No.	%		No.	%
School	6	42.9	Farming	10	71.5
Collegiate	2	14.2	Law	2	14.3
University	6	42.9	Business	1	7.1
			Civil Service	1	7.1
Total	14	100.0	Total	14	100.0

4.17 Ages of Ministers when First Elected to the Legislature and when First Appointed to the Cabinet

Two ministers were young when first elected to the legislature; they were below the age of thirty-five years. Eleven of the fourteen cabinet members were in the "middle" age group when first elected to the legislature. Lastly, one member was above 55 when first elected to the legislature.

Two legislators of the U.F.A. period were below thirty years when first elected to the legislature; of them one eventually was appointed to the cabinet. Twelve legislators were between thirty-one and thirty-five when first elected to the legislature; one of them served in the

cabinet. Another thirteen legislators were in the age group of 36-40 when first elected to the legislature; of them three were appointed to the cabinet later on. Twenty-one legislators were in the age group of 41-45 when they first entered the legislature; of them four eventually became ministers. Of eighteen legislators, who were in the age group of 46-50 when first elected to the house, two served in the ministry. Twenty members were between 51-55 when first elected; of them two served in the cabinet. Finally, one of the eight legislators who were above fifty-five years of age when first elected to the legislature eventually became a minister.

Regarding the ages of cabinet members when first appointed to the cabinet, as Table IV-10 shows, none of the ministers was appointed as a "youth", thirteen ministers in "middle" age, and one when "old".

TABLE IV-10

AGES AT WHICH MEMBERS WERE FIRST ELECTED
TO THE LEGISLATURE AND APPOINTED
TO THE CABINET, U.F.A. PERIOD

Ages When First Elected to the Legislature			Ages When First Appointed to the Cabinet		
Age Group	No.	%	Age Group	No.	%
26-30	1	14.3			
31-35	1				
36-40	3	78.6	36-40	3	92.9
41-45	4		41-45	4	
46-50	2		46-50	3	
51-55	2	7.1	51-55	3	
56 & over	1		55 & over	1	
Total	14	100	Total	14	100

4.18 Cabinet Ministers' Total Tenure in the Legislature,
their Pre-Cabinet Legislative Tenure and Cabinet
Tenure

The tenure of the members of the U.F.A. cabinets varied considerably; four of them, G. Hoadley, R.G. Reid, P.E. Baker and Mrs. Parlby, were cabinet members for fourteen years; Brownlee and V.W. Smith served in the cabinet for thirteen and eleven years respectively; Lymburn served

for nine years and O.L. McPherson for eight years. While Alexander Ross was minister for five years, the remaining four members- J.R. Love, F.S. Grisdale, J.J. McLellan and H. Allen - were cabinet members for only one year. The average tenure of the cabinet members was 7.9 years. Three members terminated their cabinet service during a legislative period: H. Greenfield resigned in 1925, V.W. Smith died in 1932, and Brownlee was forced to resign in 1934. In spite of these events there was considerable degree of stability and continuity in the tenure of U.F.A. cabinets.

The analysis of the total legislative tenures of ministers is as follows: three served in the legislature for less than five years; three served from 6-10 years; seven served from 11-15 years and one, G. Hoadley, served twenty-six years.

Seven ministers became cabinet members immediately after they were elected to the legislature. In other words, they had no pre-cabinet legislative service. Three members served for four years, one for five years, one for eight years, one for twelve years and one for thirteen years in the legislature before being appointed to the cabinet.

4.19 Comparison of Tenure of all Legislators with the Legislative Tenure of Cabinet Members

Forty-six legislators of the U.F.A. period served in the legislature for 1-5 years; of these three served in the ministry also. Twenty-three legislators served for 6-10

years; of them three were ministers. While twenty-nine legislators served in the legislature for 11-15 years, seven ministers served that long in the legislature. G. Hoadley, who served the legislature during both the Liberal and the U.F.A. period for twenty-six years, served in the U.F.A. cabinet. Because no other U.F.A. member served that long, there were no back-benchers with unusually long service.

TABLE IV-11

TOTAL LEGISLATIVE TENURE, PRE-CABINET
LEGISLATIVE TENURE, AND CABINET TENURE, OF MINISTERS,
U.F.A. PERIOD

Total Leg. Tenure		Pre-Cabinet Leg. Tenure		Cabinet Tenure	
Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.
1-5	3	None	7	1-5	6
6-10	3	4	3	6-10	2
11-15	7	5	1	11-15	6
		8	1		
		12	1		
25-30	1	13	1		
Total	14	Total	14	Total	14

4.20 Pre-Legislative and Post-Legislative Political Experience

As Table IV-12 shows, only one minister had legislative experience on a local body, while five of the U.F.A. cabinet members had held either party office or had been active in party work. While we do not know anything about the pre-legislative experience of P.E. Baker, four other members, J.R. Love, V.W. Smith, J.F. Lymburn and McLellan seem to have had no political experience before they were elected to the legislature. On the whole, the writer finds that the pre-legislative political experience of the U.F.A. cabinet members was not very significant.

A brief description of the post-legislative experience of the cabinet members is given below. V.W. Smith died in 1932 while still in office, and H. Greenfield⁶ retired from politics in 1925 having accepted a federal government assignment in London, England. All other members retired from politics when the U.F.A. was defeated in the general election of 1935. F.G. Grisdale entered the Federal Civil Service and is still living in Olds. Brownlee, after being defeated by Mrs. Rogers in 1935, retired from politics and died in 1961. G. Hoadley retired from

⁶After resigning his premiership, Greenfield accepted a Dominion job and went to England as the Director of Canadian Immigration.

politics and devoted his time to the cause of public health until he died in 1955. P.E. Baker went back to his farm; at the time of the gathering of these data (1968), he lived in Vancouver. J.R. Love became the President of the Cooperatives in Edmonton.⁷ R.G. Reid also retired from politics and now (1969) is working as the Librarian for Canadian Utilities Ltd. in Edmonton. He is one of the two living ex-premiers of Alberta. Mrs. Parlby, after serving in several social and educational institutions, died in 1965. O.L. McPherson died in the 1940's and Lymburn in 1969. MacLellan and H. Allen, after their retirement from politics, worked as Directors of the Grain Growers Association for some time. MacLellan died in 1950's and Allen's whereabouts could not be ascertained. Alex. Ross, after being defeated in the 1926 general elections, migrated to Victoria, British Columbia. None of the U.F.A. ministers entered federal politics after retirement from the cabinet; in fact, none remained in active partisan politics.

⁷ Mrs. Love told the writer that Mr. Love has suffered a stroke and is hospitalized.

TABLE IV-12

PRE-LEGISLATIVE AND POST-LEGISLATIVE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE
OF MINISTERS, U.F.A. PERIOD

Pre-Leg. Pol. Experience	No.	Post-Leg. Pol. Experience	No.
Legislative Experience	1	Retired from Politics	11
Party Work	5	Entered Federal Service	2
No Political Experience	5	Died in Office	1
Not Known	3		
Total	14	Total	14

4.21 A Comparison of the Pre-Legislative Political Experience
and Cabinet Members

Of the thirty-three legislators of the U.F.A. era who had legislative experience of some sort before they were elected to the legislature, one eventually became a cabinet member. In other words, only one minister had some kind of legislative experience before he was first elected to the legislature. Twenty-six legislators obtained political experience by serving in the party organization; of them five served in the cabinet. Further, none of the five legislators who obtained political experience by contesting in elections⁸ served in U.F.A. cabinets. Of the twenty-five

⁸ Elections other than the one in which he or she was elected to the legislature.

legislators in whose case no political experience before election to the legislature was ascertained, five served in U.F.A. cabinets.

4.22 Social Credit Regime

There were forty-three cabinet ministers from Aberhart's cabinet of 1935 to Harry Strom's reconstructed ministry of 1969. As in the cases of the two previous eras, this period also witnessed three distinct ministries. Aberhart's ministry lasted from 1935 to 1943; Manning's ministry, formed in 1943, lasted till 1969; Harry Strom formed his ministry in 1969. Manning's ministry was the longest in the annals of Alberta, and one of the longest recorded in elective politics anywhere. A description of the socio-historical backgrounds of the ministers serving under these premiers is given in the following pages.

4.23 Birth-Places and Father's Status or Occupation

One of the noteworthy features about the cabinet members under the Social Credit regime is that a large number of them were born in Alberta. 46.6% of the cabinet members of this era were native sons and daughters of Alberta. This was the first time in the history of Alberta that it was administered mainly by native-born people. The second largest group, as Table IV-13 shows, was composed of persons born in Ontario. Lastly, there was a considerable rise in the number of American-born members of the cabinet.

Five, or 11.9%, of the cabinet members were born in the United States. Altogether, 24% of them were born in foreign countries and 76% were born in Canada.

Regarding parental status or occupation, information was not available about sixteen per cent of the ministers. Available information does show that a large group of ministers, twenty, were born in farming families.

The number of Alberta-born legislators was seventy-nine; nineteen of them became ministers eventually. Seven of the thirty-seven members born in Ontario were in the Social Credit cabinets. Of the twenty-nine legislators born in the U.S.A., five went to the cabinet. Four of the twenty legislators born in England, two of the seven legislators born in Saskatchewan, two of the four born in Prince Edward Island, and one each of the three born in Ireland, of the five born in Quebec, and of the three born in British Columbia, became ministers in the Social Credit cabinets. None of the members born on the European Continent reached this distinction.

TABLE IV-13

FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND PLACES OF BIRTH
OF MINISTERS, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Places of Birth (Country or Province)		Father's Occupation			
	No.	%		No.	%
Alberta	20	46.6	Farming	21	48.9
Ontario	7	16.3	Business	4	9.3
Saskatchewan	2	4.7	Labour	4	9.3
Prince Edward Island	1	2.3	Socially Prominent family, occupation not ascertained	6	13.9
Quebec	1	2.3	Poor family, occupation not known	1	2.3
New Brunswick	1	2.3	Not Known	7	16.3
British Columbia	1	2.3			
America	5	11.6			
England	4	9.3			
Ireland	1	2.3			
Total	43	100.0	Total	43	100.0

4.24 Ethnic Origin and Religion

our data indicate that, so far as the ethnic origin of the members is concerned, there was some innovation in this period. The largest single group was composed of eigh-

teen ministers whose ethnic origin was English. While these eighteen make up 41.9%, the Anglo-Saxon element accounts for only 69.8% of the total membership. There is a definite trend towards increased representation of peoples belonging to Continental European ethnic groups. This is especially so in the case of the Norwegian ethnic group, which contributed five ministers.

Regarding the religious denominations of the ministers, we notice a similarity with earlier regimes. As usual, a large majority of the members were Protestants and only a little over 9% were Catholics. Among the Protestant sections, the United Church of Canada takes the first position; thirteen or 30.2% of the ministers were its members. More details are given in Table IV-14.

It is stated elsewhere that the English ethnic group had a dominant place in the cabinets of the Social Credit regime. Eighteen of the seventy-four legislators of English origin were ministers in this period. Second in rank was the Scottish ethnic group with eight ministers out of forty-seven members. Three of the twenty-one legislators of Irish origin, two of the four legislators of Danish origin, two of the thirteen legislators of Ukrainian origin, two of the six members of German origin, and one each of the ten legislators of American, of the eleven members of French group and of the two legislators of Austrian origin were in the cabinets of the Social Credit regime. A noteworthy fact is that of the six Norwegian

legislators, all but one served in Social Credit cabinet. At the same time, only one of the eleven legislators of French origin became a minister.

Regarding religion, twelve of the seventy-five legislators belonging to the United Church of Canada, five of the sixteen Presbyterian legislators, five of the fifteen Baptists, five of the twenty-one legislators of the Church of England, three of the fourteen Mormon legislators, three of the five Lutherans, five of the seventeen Undenominated Protestants and four of the twenty-six legislators of the Catholic Church, served in the cabinets of the Social Credit regime up to 1969.

TABLE IV-14

ETHNIC ORIGINS AND RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS
OF MINISTERS, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Ethnic Group	No.	%	Religion	No.	%
English	18	41.9	United Church of Canada	13	30.2
Scottish	8	18.6	Presbyterian	5	11.6
Irish	4	9.3	Church of England	4	9.3
French	1	2.2	Lutheran	3	7.0
Norwegian	5	11.6	Baptist	5	11.6
Danish	2	4.7	Mennonites	1	2.3
Ukrainian	2	4.7	Mormon	3	7.0
Austrian	1	2.3	Undenominated Protestant	5	11.7
German	2	4.7	Catholic	4	9.3
Total	43	100.0	Total	43	100.0

4.25 Education and Occupation

Educational levels and occupations of ministers are shown in Table IV-15. A little more than one-half of the ministers have had either collegiate or university education. Some of the information on this subject is not unambiguous. For example, several members have given their education as "public school". Shall we take this as elemen-

tary, junior or senior high school? The writer has decided to put all such cases under one category, namely, "Schools". The number of members who come under this classification was 46.5%.

Data shown in Table IV-15, reveal that 37.2% of the ministers belonged to the teaching occupation. This is an interesting development which will be explored further in the next chapter. Agriculture and business have had considerable representation in Social Credit cabinets; 32.6% of the members were either farmers or businessmen before they were elected to the legislature. Four members were doctors and three were lawyers. On the whole, it can be said that professional occupations like these had small representation.

In comparing educational levels of the legislators and cabinet members, we find that 110 or 50.5% of the legislators of this era had school education-as defined above-only, whereas twenty, or 46.5% of the cabinet members had education to this level. However, while 108 or 49.5% legislators had higher education, twenty-three or 53.5% of the cabinet members attained this level of education.

When the legislators and cabinet members are compared according to occupation, the following facts come to light: while legislators who had business and management as their occupation dominated the legislature, the teachers dominated the cabinet. Of the seventy-eight, or 34.8%, legislators who were businessmen, only eight served

in the cabinet, whereas fifteen out of the thirty-eight teacher legislators served in the cabinet, constituting the largest single group with 37.2%. Four of the twenty lawyer legislators, three of the thirteen doctor legislators, and two of the three legislators who were engineers, served as ministers. Though farmers constituted the second highest group with a membership of fifty-three, or 24% of the total legislators, only eight became members of cabinets.

TABLE IV-15

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS OF MINISTERS,
SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Educational Level	No.	%	Occupation	No.	%
School	20	46.5	Teaching	16	37.2
Collegiate	3	7.0	Farming	7	16.3
University	20	46.5	Business	7	16.3
			Medicine	4	9.3
			Law	3	7.0
			Engineering	2	4.6
			Accountant	1	2.3
			Employees	3	7.0
Total	43	100.0	Total	43	100.0

4.26 Ages at Which Ministers Entered the Legislature and
the Cabinet

The ages of ministers when first elected to the legislature are given in Table IV-16. Fourteen ministers were "young" when first elected to the legislature, twenty-seven were of "middle" age and two were "old".

The ages at which the members were appointed to the cabinet are given below. Five members were "young" when first appointed to the cabinet, thirty-two were in the "middle" age group, and six members were over fifty-five years of age when first appointed to the cabinet.

TABLE IV-16

AGES AT WHICH MINISTERS ENTERED THE
LEGISLATURE AND THE CABINET, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Election to Legislature			Appointment to Cabinet		
Years	No.	%	Years	No.	%
21-25	1		26-30	3	11.7
26-30	8	32.5	31-35	2	
31-35	5		36-40	10	
36-40	7		41-45	4	74.4
41-45	8	62.8	46-50	12	
46-50	8		51-55	6	
51-55	4		over 55	6	13.9
over 55	2	4.7			
Total	43	100.0	Total	43	100.0

4.27 Comparison of the Ages of Ministers when First Elected to the Legislature, and of all Members at First Election

Twenty-nine legislators of the Social Credit period were first elected to the legislature when they were "young"; of them fourteen members eventually served in the cabinet. Thirty-two legislators were first elected when they were

between 36-40 years; of them seven became ministers later on. Thirty-five legislators were elected when they were in 41-45 age group; eight of these eventually entered the cabinet. Eight of the thirty-seven legislators who were in the age group of 46-50 when first elected to the legislature were appointed to the cabinet. Another thirty-nine legislators were in the 51-55 age group when first elected to the legislature. Lastly two of the thirty-seven legislators who were over fifty-five years of age when first elected to the legislature served in the cabinet.

R.C. Clark was the minister who was the youngest when first elected to the legislature being only twenty-three years old. The youngest minister was E.C. Manning, who was twenty-seven when he was appointed to the cabinet. Aberhart and Ethel Wilson were the oldest members when appointed to the cabinet; both of them were fifty-seven years old.

4.28 Total Legislative Tenure, Pre-Cabinet Legislative Tenure, and Cabinet Tenure of Ministers

The total legislative tenure of ministers is as follows: four served less than five years, twelve served in the legislature from 6-10 years, six served from 11-15 years, ten served from 16-20 years, eight served for 21-25 years, and three served for more than twenty-five years. These data show that the Social Credit cabinet ministers have stayed in the legislature for a long time. Twenty-

seven ministers have served in the legislature for more than eleven years. Another point to be borne in mind is that seventeen ministers are still in office. A. J. Hooke has the distinction of serving in the legislature for the longest period. Elected in 1935 he is still a member.

TABLE IV-17

CABINET MINISTERS' TOTAL TENURE IN THE LEGISLATURE,
PRE-CABINET LEGISLATIVE TENURE, AND CABINET TENURE,
SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Total Legislative Tenure			Pre-Cabinet Legislative Tenure		Cabinet Tenure+	
Years	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
			None - 8*	18.6		
1-5	4	9.3	10 past 8 present	23.3 18.6	17	39.5
6-10	12	27.9	5 past 6 present	11.6 13.9	10	23.3
11-15	6	13.9	1 past 3 present	2.3 7.0	10	23.3
16-20	10	23.3	2 past	4.7	3	7.0
21-25	8	18.6			1	2.3
26-30	1	2.3			1	2.3
31-35	2	4.7			1	2.3
Total	43	100.0	43	100.0	43	100.0

+For the cabinet tenure of past and present ministers, see Table IV-17

*The first Social Credit cabinet of 1935 consisted of eight ministers who had no pre-cabinet legislative service. All other socred ministers served varied length of tenure in the legislature before appointed to the cabinet.

4.29 Pre-Cabinet Legislative Tenure of Ministers

The following facts were found regarding pre-cabinet legislative tenure of ministers: Eight ministers did not serve in the legislature before they were appointed to the cabinet. All these eight ministers were elected in

the 1935 general election and appointed to the cabinet soon after they were elected. Eighteen ministers served in the legislature from one to five years before they were chosen to the cabinet. In other words, nearly 42% of the cabinet ministers had served in the legislature between one and five years before they entered the cabinet. Another group of eleven ministers had put in 6-10 years service in the legislature before they were appointed to the cabinet. Four cabinet members had served the legislature from 11-15 years before they became ministers; two ministers had served from 16-20 years before being appointed to the cabinet. J. Hartley served for the longest period in the legislature before appointed to the cabinet; he had put in twenty years of service in the legislature before he became a minister in 1955.

The following account is concerned with the ministers' tenure in the cabinet: seventeen ministers or 39.5% have served for less than five years in the cabinet; ten members served for 6-10 years, another group of ten ministers served for 11-15 years, three served for 16-20 years and three have served in the cabinet for more than twenty years. E.C. Manning enjoys the distinction of having been a minister for the longest period of time, from 1935 to 1969, when he retired from the cabinet voluntarily. A.J. Hooke served in the cabinet for the second longest period; he was a minister for twenty-six years, from 1943 to 1969.

C.C. Ross, who died in office, served in the cabinet for the shortest period, one year.⁹

4.30 Past Cabinet Ministers' Tenure

There was a total of forty-three ministers during the Social Credit era from 1935 to 1969, of which seventeen are still in office. The tenure of the twenty-six ministers no longer in office is as follows: nine ministers served in the cabinet for 1-5 years, seven for 6-10 years, six for 11-15 years, one for nineteen years, one for twenty-six years and one, E.C. Manning, for thirty-four years.

Among the present cabinet members eight have served in the cabinet for less than five years, three members for 6-10 years, four ministers for 11-15 years and two for 16-20 years. Among these ministers, G.E. Taylor has put in the longest service in the cabinet. He has served for nineteen years.

⁹ J. D. Henderson, R. Ratzlaff and A. Ludwig who joined Strom's reconstructed ministry in 1969 have served in the cabinet for less than one year. Since they are still in office their tenures cannot be considered as the shortest ones.

TABLE IV-18

CABINET TENURE OF PAST AND PRESENT MINISTERS,
SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Tenure of Past Ministers		Tenure of Present Ministers	
Tenure	No.	Tenure	No.
1-5	9	1-5	8
6-10	7	6-10	3
11-15	6	11-15	4
16-20	1	16-20	2
21-25	1		
26-30	1		
31-35	1		
Total	26	Total	17

4.31 Legislative Tenure of Cabinet Members Compared With
Tenure of Legislators as a Whole

One hundred and six legislators served in the legislature from 1-5 years; of them four served in the cabinet. In other words, while 106 legislators served for 1-5 years, only four cabinet members served that long in the legislature. Forty-nine members served for 6-10 years; of them twelve entered the cabinet. Thirty members served for 11-15

years; six of these served in the cabinet. Twenty legislators served for 16-20 years; of them ten became ministers. Eleven legislators served in the legislature for 21-25 years; among these are eight ministers. One of the five legislators who served for 26-30 years was a minister. Finally, four legislators served for 31-35 years in the legislature; of them two served in the cabinet also.

We see from this that the long duration of the Social Credit era has brought about long service on the part of back-benchers. So far, two have served more than 30 years, another four more than 25 years, another three more than 20 years and ten additional ones more than 15 years.

4.32 Pre-Legislative and Post-Legislative Experience

Our data suggest that the Social Credit ministers had very little political experience before they were elected to the legislature. This was due to the fact that many ministers were teachers just before they were elected to the legislature. However, it may be true that a few cases which come under the category "no political experience" (see Table IV-18) might in fact have had some experience in the party organization, which is considered as political experience for the purpose of this study. But since the major sources of information on this aspect do not make statements about the political experience of so many ministers, the writer tends to believe that, on the whole, the pre-legis-

lative political experience of the Social Credit ministers is not very significant. Twenty-four ministers, or 55.8% of the total, seem to have had no political experience before they were elected to the legislature.

The following facts come to light regarding the post-legislative careers of the ministers. Five members retired from politics soon after their legislative tenure came to an end. Two members entered Federal politics, one of whom (Solon Low) became Social Credit leader in the House of Commons. Two other members, I. Casey and R. H. McKinnon, entered the administrative services of the province. Casey, after being defeated in the 1955 general election, was appointed as the Director of the Workman's Compensation Board, and R.H. McKinnon was appointed as the Director of the Alberta Advisory Council of Human Resources after he was defeated in the 1967 general election. Further, eight members died while they were still in office. Seventeen ministers or 39.5% are still in office. Though this is due partly to the expansion of the strength of the Social Credit cabinets from eight in 1935 to seventeen in 1969, continuance in office of a large number of ministers for lengthy periods is responsible for the large percentage of the ministers who are still in office.

Finally, if we compare the pre-legislative experience of the ministers with the legislators, the following facts can be observed: While sixty-three or 30.7%

of the legislators of the Social Credit period had pre-legislative political experience, thirteen or 30.2% of the cabinet members had that experience. Sixteen legislators obtained political experience by working in the party organization; of them only six members eventually became ministers. Lastly, 109 legislators had no previous political experience; of them twenty-four (55.8% of the ministers) served in Social Credit cabinets.

TABLE IV-19

PRE-LEGISLATIVE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND
 POST-LEGISLATIVE CAREERS OF MINISTERS,
 SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Pre-Legislative Political Experience			Post-Legislative Careers		
	No.	%		No.	%
Legislative Experience	13	30.2	Retired from Politics	5	11.6
Party Work	6	14.0	Retired from Office but still are in Politics	9	20.9
No Political Experience	24	55.8	Entered Federal Politics	2	4.7
			Died while in Office	8	18.6
			Still serving as Legislators	2	4.7
			Still in Office	17	39.5
Total	43	100.0		43	100.0

Summary

On the whole, Anglo-Saxon protestants were dominant in all Cabinets of Alberta. However, in the Social Credit period there was a marked increase in the number of ministers of Continental European origin, and more than isolated individual protestants belonging neither to the Church of England nor to the major Non-Conformist denominations. Further, the analysis reveals that after the Liberal Period, ministers representing the social elite ceased to dominate the cabinet.

CHAPTER V

A COMPARISON OF CABINET MEMBERS OF THE THREE POLITICAL REGIMES

In the preceding chapter an account was given of a certain number of socio-political attributes of Alberta cabinet members. An attempt is made here to compare, with reference to these attributes, the ministers of the three regimes.

5.1 Ages at which the Ministers Entered the Legislature and the Cabinet

The ages at which the cabinet members were elected to the legislature for the first time is shown in Table V-1. These ages are grouped into three categories with a view to making the description less complex. A large percentage - 27.8% - of the cabinet members of the Liberal regime entered the legislature when they were below the age of thirty-five. But during the U.F.A. era, the percentage of members in this age-group sank to 14.3%. However, during the Social Credit regime we notice the largest number of cabinet members to be were elected to the legislature when they were below the age of thirty-five years; fourteen members, or 32.6% were in the "youth" age bracket.

A large group of members of all periods individually and collectively were in the "middle" age category when they were elected to the legislature:

they accounted for 61.1%, 78.6% and 62.8% of the would-be ministers of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes respectively. The largest percentage of the ministers during the U.F.A. period were in middle age when elected to the legislature.

The ages at which the members were appointed to the cabinet are shown in Table V-2. Three cabinet members of the Liberal regime were in the "youth" age group when they entered the cabinet. No cabinet member of the U.F.A. period was in this age bracket when appointed to the cabinet. During the Social Credit era the largest number of "youths" became cabinet members. However, the largest number of cabinet members of all the three regimes were in "middle"age bracket at the time of their appointment to the cabinet: 66.6%, 92.8% and 74.4% of the cabinet members of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes respectively entered the cabinet in their middle ages. Conversely, the number of members who entered the cabinet above the age of fifty-five was also small in all periods.

TABLE V-1

AGES AT WHICH CABINET MEMBERS WERE ELECTED
TO THE LEGISLATURE FOR THE FIRST TIME

Age Group	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
21-25	0		0		1	
36-30	0	27.8	1	14.2	8	32.6
31-35	5		1		5	
36-40	3		3		7	
41-45	2	61.1	4	78.6	8	62.8
46-50	2		2		8	
51-55	4		2		4	
56 & Over	1	5.6	1	7.2	2	4.6
Not Known	1	5.5	0		0	
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

TABLE V-2

AGES AT WHICH MINISTERS WERE APPOINTED
TO THE CABINET

Age Group	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
26-30	0	16.7	0		3	11.7
31-35	3		0		2	
36-40	3		3		10	
41-45	3	66.6	4	92.8	4	74.4
46-50	2		3		12	
51-55	4		3		6	
56 & over	2	11.1	1	7.2	6	13.9
Not Known	1	5.6	0		0	
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

5.2 Birth-Places of Cabinet Members

Table V-3 shows the places of birth of the cabinet members. According to this table, there were no cabinet ministers in either the Liberal regime or the U.F.A. regime who were born in Alberta. One of the significant developments, as the figures indicate, is that 46.6% or nearly one half, of the members of the Social Credit cabinets were born

in Alberta. This suggests that the province has come to have an ever increasing reservoir of native-born people to occupy leading positions. Another factor that draws our attention is that Ontario has been a prolific source of politicians throughout the history of Alberta. Eleven of the eighteen Liberal ministers, four of the fourteen U.F.A. ministers, and seven of the forty-three cabinet members of the Social Credit period, were born in Ontario. While there is a sharp decline in Ontario-born ministers after the Liberal period, yet the category persists. The number of members born in the British Isles was higher in the U.F.A. regime than in the two others; it was lowest in the Liberal era. Another factor which deserves our notice is that the number of the members born in the United States increased from nil during the Liberal regime to five during the Social Credit era. To summarize, we may say that the Liberal cabinets were more Central Canadian, the U.F.A. cabinets more British, and the Social Credit cabinets more Albertan when viewed from the point of birth places of members.

TABLE V-3

COMPARATIVE PICTURE OF THE BIRTH PLACES OF MINISTERS

Country or Province	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alberta	0		0		20	46.6
Ontario	11	61.1	4	28.6	7	16.3
Quebec	3	16.7	1	7.1	1	2.3
New Brunswick	2	11.1	0		1	2.3
Prince Edward Island	0		2	14.3	1	2.3
Saskatchewan	0		0		2	4.7
British Columbia	0		0		1	2.3
England	0		3		4	
Scotland	0	5.5	3	42.9	0	11.6
Ireland	1		0		1	
U.S.A.	0		1	7.1	5	11.6
Not Known	1	5.6	0		0	
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

5.3 Comparison of Education Levels of the Ministers

The education levels of members of different periods are given in Table V-4. It shows that the educational level of the ministers in the Liberal regime was higher than

that of their counterparts during the two other regimes; 27.8% of them had common school education only and 72.2% had higher education. If we compare this with the educational level of the members of the other two regimes we notice that the number of members who had higher education was the least in the Social Credit period. While 53.5% of Socred ministers had higher education, 57% of the U.F.A. ministers went beyond high school. A large part of the remaining 43% of the ministers of the U.F.A. period, who had school education, had less than high school education, while only 21% of the Social Credit ministers are in the lowest education category. Liberal ministers, then, had the most formal education. Social Credit ministers are similar to those of the U.F.A. period but the Social Credit group has fewer ministers with definitely little schooling.

TABLE V-4

EDUCATION LEVELS OF MINISTERS
OF DIFFERENT PERIODS

Education Level	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than High School	3	16.7	6	42.9	9	20.9
High School	2	11.1	0		11	25.6
Collegiate	4	22.2	2	14.2	3	7.0
University	9	50.0	6	42.9	20	46.5
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

5.4 A Comparative Analysis of the Occupations of Ministers

There are several variations in the occupation patterns of the cabinet members of different periods. During the Liberal regime 44.4% of the Cabinet ministers were lawyers. But this professional group secured less representation in the succeeding two regimes; while 14.4% of the U.F.A. ministers were lawyers, only 7% of the Social Credit ministers were. Further more, a large number of Liberal ministers were businessmen before they were elected to the legislature; 27.8% of the Liberal ministers had business as their main occupation.

Like the legal profession, this occupation also declined numerically in the U.F.A. and Social Credit eras, though it was lowest for U.F.A. ministers. Fewer members of both the Liberal and Social Credit cabinets had farming as their occupation than the U.F.A. cabinet members. During this regime, as if to justify the title of the regime, 71.4% of the cabinet members were farmers. Their counterparts in the Liberal regime were 11.1% and in the Social Credit period, 16.3%. The most obvious change in the Social Credit period was in the field of teaching. We see a meteoric rise of cabinet members who pursued the teaching occupation from 5.6% in the Liberal period and zero in the U.F.A. period to 37.2% in the Social Credit era. Teachers dominated the cabinets of the Social Credit period, apparently at the expense of the lawyers and businessmen. The position of farmers, though not stronger than it was in the U.F.A. period, is stronger than it was during the Liberal period. To sum up, the Liberal cabinets were dominated by barristers, the U.F.A. cabinets by farmers and the Social Credit cabinets by teachers.

TABLE V-5

OCCUPATIONS OF MINISTERS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS

Occupation	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law	8	44.4	2	14.4	3	7.0
Other Professions	3	16.7	1	7.1	7	16.2
Teaching	1	5.6	0		16	37.2
Business	4	22.2	1	7.1	7	16.3
Farming	2	11.1	10	71.4	7	16.3
Others	0		0		3	7.0
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

5.5 Ethnic Origins of Cabinet Members

A comparative picture of the members' ethnic origin is given in Table V-6. This table indicates that there is a gradual increase in the percentage of the cabinet members belonging to the English ethnic group; in the Liberal regime its strength in the cabinets was 33.3%, in the U.F.A. cabinets 35.7% and in the Social Credit cabinets, 41.9%. But the Scottish group in the Liberal cabinets constituted the largest single group; it accounted for 44.4% of the cabinet members. This group was even stronger in the U.F.A.

cabinets, (57.2%). However, its strength declined in the Social Credit era; only 18.6% of the cabinet members of this period were Scottish in origin. The Irish element, though not absent, was not a major group in any of the three periods.

On the whole, one can say the Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups had a lion's share in the cabinets of all regimes; 83.3%, 92.9% and 65.1% of the cabinet members of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods respectively belonged to the Anglo-Saxon groups. Further, Table V-6 shows that the continental European ethnic groups, which had no representation in the Liberal and the U.F.A. cabinets, had remarkable Cabinet representation during the Social Credit era. Among the continental European ethnic groups the Norwegian group gained more cabinet positions than others. The French-Canadian element has declined in strength over a period of time.

In conclusion, we may say that the Liberal and the U.F.A. cabinets were more homogeneous ethnically than the cabinets of the Social Credit period. The Province of Alberta became more mixed ethnically in the Social Credit era. This fact is reflected in the make-up of the province's cabinets.

TABLE V-6

CABINET MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS AND
THEIR ETHNIC ORIGINS

Ethnic Group	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	6	33.3	5	35.7	18	41.9
Scottish	8	44.4	8	57.2	8	18.6
Irish	1	5.6	1	7.1	4	9.3
French	3	16.7	0		1	2.3
Norwegian	0		0		5	11.7
Danish	0		0		2	4.6
Ukrainian	0		0		2	4.6
German	0		0		2	4.7
Austrian	0		0		1	2.3
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

5.6 Cabinet Members and Their Religious Denominations

The religious denominations of the cabinet members of Alberta closely follow their ethnic identities. We have seen that the Anglo-Saxon elements were dominant in all the political regimes. From this it follows that a large majority of the members were Protestants; 83.3%, 92.9% and

90.7% of the cabinet members of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit regimes respectively. Catholics had a very meagre representation in the cabinets. There were three Catholic ministers in the Liberal period, one in the U.F.A. and four in the Social Credit regime. It is true that there were Catholic members in all regimes; but Catholics did not have uninterrupted cabinet representation.¹

Within the subgroups of Protestantism, the Presbyterian, Methodist and United Church of Canada constitute, over the period of this study, a single religious group. It was the largest group in all the three political regimes of Alberta. 66.7%, 57.1% and 41.8% of the ministers of the Liberal, the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods respectively belonged to this major group. However, the strength of this group gradually decreased from 66.7% in the Liberal period to 41.8% in the Social Credit period. It seems that this downward trend was due to an upward trend in the immigrants from continental Europe and the United States. The Church of England had a slightly better position in the

¹From 1905 to 1909 there was no Catholic member in the cabinet. There were no Catholic cabinet members from 1910 to 1913 when Gariepy was appointed to the cabinet. He was a cabinet member from 1913 to 1918. From 1918 to 1921 Cote, another Roman Catholic was appointed to the ministry. But from 1921 to 1934 there again was no representation to Roman Catholics. From 1934 to 1935 J.J. McLellan was in the cabinet, and from 1935 to 1936, there was no Catholic once more. From then on, Catholic representation has been unbroken. In 1936 Maynard was taken to the cabinet and served till 1955. In 1955 Colborne was appointed as minister, and he is in office at the time of writing. From 1962 to 1969 there were two Catholic members and at present (1969) there are three. (Colborne has recently become a convert to the Baptist Church).

U.F.A. and the Liberal periods than in the Social Credit era, due probably to increases in the English element. The Lutheran Church gathered strength in the Social Credit period; in the first two regimes it had no representation, but three ministers of the Social Credit regime belonged to this Church. The Baptists, Mormons, Mennonites, Evangelicals and Undenominated Protestants enlarged their representation in cabinets from one in the Liberal period to fifteen in the Social Credit era. This is indeed a spectacular growth. Again, this is due in part to influx of immigrants from the European countries and the United States, but even more to the early connection of Social Credit with Evangelical Protestantism. In conclusion, we may say that the Protestant members have dominated the cabinets of Alberta throughout.

TABLE V-7

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF MINISTERS
OF THE THREE REGIMES

Religion	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A						
United Church of Canada	0		1		13	
Presbyterian	9	66.7	5	57.1	5	41.8
Methodist	3		2		0	
B						
Church of England	2	11.1	2	14.3	3	7.0
C						
Lutheran	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	7.0
D						
Baptist	1		1		5	
Mormon	0		0		3	
Mennonite	0	5.5	0	21.5	1	34.9
Evangelical	0		0		1	
Undenominated Protestants	0		2		5	
E						
Catholics	3	16.7	1	7.1	4	9.3
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

83.3% Protestants

92.9% Protestantst

90.7% Protestants

5.7 Pre-Legislative Political Experience of Ministers of Different Regimes

Table V-8 shows that 61.1% of the cabinet members in the Liberal regime had pre-legislative political experience; among these 44.4% had their political experience either in municipal institutions or in the previous North-West territorial legislative assembly. If we compare this figure with those of the cabinet members in the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods we notice a gradual decrease in the number of members who had pre-legislative political experience. Though six out of the eight cabinet members in the first U.F.A. cabinet had pre-legislative experience, a majority of the six cabinet members who joined the cabinet later on had no previous political experience. As a result the percentage of U.F.A. ministers who had pre-legislative experience came down to 50%. The figures for the Social Credit regime show that only 44.2% of the total ministers had pre-legislative political experience. Among the eight members in the first Social Credit cabinet in 1935, only four had political experience before they were elected to the legislature. Among the thirty-five who joined the cabinet later on, only fifteen had such pre-legislative experience. Thus, as regards pre-legislative political experience there is little difference between the members of the original Social Credit cabinet and those that followed them. Further, among the members who had pre-legislative political experience, only thirteen of the forty-

TABLE V-8

PRE-LEGISLATIVE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE
OF MINISTERS OF DIFFERENT PERIODS

Pre-Legislative Political Experience	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Legislative Experience	8	44.4	2	14.3	13	30.2
Experience in Party Organization	3	16.7	5	35.7	6	14.0
No Political Experience	4	22.2	5	35.8	24	55.8
Not Known	3	16.7	2	14.2	0	
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

three ministers had this kind of experience in some other legislative body. These observations lead to a final point, namely, that a large number of the U.F.A. and Social Credit ministers were amateur politicians when they entered the legislature. This may be due to several factors. First of all, these were new movements which came to power without having a long and strong political foundation, and thus they had insufficient numbers of trained politicians. This may be one of the reasons why the U.F.A. included Alex Ross, a labor member, and G. Hoadley, a Conservative, in its

first cabinet of 1921. Secondly, a large number of the Social Credit ministers were teachers and skilled professionals like doctors and engineers, some of whom entered higher levels of politics straight from professional life; twenty-three Social Credit ministers were either teachers or professionals before they entered the legislature.

From this description, it becomes evident that the number of members who had no political experience was smallest in the Liberal period, and largest in the Social Credit regime.

5.8 Cabinet Members' Tenures Compared

A comparative analysis of the members' tenures in the cabinets of different regimes is given in Table V-9. It indicates that the largest percentage of the members of the Liberal cabinets served for the shortest period, while the lowest proportion of cabinet members of the Social Credit regime served in the cabinets from one to five years. No minister of the Liberal regime served throughout that period. But four members (Hoadley, Reid, P.E. Baker and Mrs. Parlby) of the U.F.A. cabinets served during the entire period of that regime, i.e., for fourteen years. Against this one member of the cabinet of the Social Credit regime served from 1935 to 1969, (the end point of this study). Besides, 37.2% of the Socred ministers served for more than ten years; 13.9% of the total number have served for more than fifteen years.

TABLE V-9
CABINET TENURE OF MINISTERS
OF DIFFERENT REGIMES

Duration in Years	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-5	11	61.1	6	42.9	17	39.5
6-10	3	16.7	2	14.3	10	23.3
11-15	4	22.2	6	42.8	10	23.3
16-20	--	----	-	----	3	7.0
21-25	--	----	-	----	1	2.3
26-30	--	----	-	----	1	2.3
31-35	--	----	-	----	1	2.3
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

* Social Credit cabinets have more than doubled in size since 1935. Compared to the eight original ministers, there were ten in 1944, 1948, and 1952; thirteen in 1955 and 1959; and fifteen in 1963 and 1967. The Strom Ministry (1969) contains seventeen ministers.

5.9 Legislative Tenure of the Ministers of Different Regimes are Compared

While 62.8% of the Social Credit ministers served in the legislature for more than ten years, 50% and 57% of the members of the Liberal and the U.F.A. cabinets respec-

tively did so. The near-monopoly of Social Credit in the higher tenure categories is of course a result of the long duration of the regime.

TABLE V-10

MINISTERS' LEGISLATIVE TENURE

Duration in Years	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-5	3	16.7	3	21.4	4	9.3
6-10	6	33.3	3	21.5	12	27.9
11-15	7	38.9	7	50.0	6	13.9
16-20	1	5.6	0		10	23.3
21-25	1	5.5	0		8	18.6
26-30	0		1	7.1	1	2.3
31-35	0		0		2	4.7
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	43	100.0

5.10 Ministers' Pre-Cabinet Legislative Tenure

Twenty-six members were appointed to the cabinet immediately after their election to the legislature; of these, eleven were in the Liberal regime, seven in the U.F.A. and eight in the Social Credit regime. One note-

worthy fact is that no Social Credit member was appointed to the cabinet immediately after his or her election to the legislature except the eight members who joined the first Social Credit cabinet of 1935. All other Socred ministers served varied terms, some as long as fifteen to twenty years, in the legislature before entering the cabinet; ten members waited for ten or more years before they became ministers. Hartley served twenty years in the legislature before he entered the cabinet in 1955. But in the case of Liberal ministers the story is different; only six of the eleven immediately appointed members were elected to the first legislature after the general election of 1905.

Regarding the U.F.A. ministers, six of the eight members of the first cabinet in 1921 became ministers after they were first elected to the legislature. The remaining two had been legislators in the previous regime (Ross and Hoadley). Later on, Lymburn was appointed to the cabinet immediately after he was elected to the legislature.

At present, there are seventeen ministers in the cabinet; among these one (Ratzlaff) served for less than two years in the legislature before entering the cabinet; seven served from three to five years, three from six to eight years, four from nine to eleven years, one fourteen years, and one - E.H. Gerhart - fifteen years, before they were appointed to the cabinet.

TABLE V-11
MINISTERS' PRE-CABINET SERVICE IN
THE LEGISLATURE

Years	Liberal	U.F.A.	Social Credit
0	11	7	8
2 Years or Less	1	0	6
3-5	2	3	12
6-8	3	2	5
9-11	1	0	7
12-14	0	2	2
15-17	0	0	1
18-20	0	0	2
Total	18	14	43

5.11 Post-Legislative Careers of the Ministers

The post-legislative careers of the members are classified in Table V-12. The table excludes the seventeen members of the Strom's Cabinet (1969) and the two former ministers still serving in the legislature. Data show that a large number of the U.F.A. ministers retired from politics soon after they ceased to be ministers; 78.6% of them retired from politics when their legislative tenures ended.

Against this the lowest percentage of (11.6%) Social Credit ministers retired from politics after their legislative tenure. One interesting political phenomenon is that a large group of eight members, or 44.4% of the Liberal ministers, entered federal politics when their legislative tenures ended. But none of the U.F.A. cabinet members ever entered Federal politics; two of the Social Credit ministers entered Federal politics but only one of them succeeded and the other contested for a seat in the Federal parliament but was defeated in the general election. The figures up to the end of 1968 show that the percentage of ministers who died while they were in office is higher for Social Credit than for the other two regimes. Further, 16.3% of the Social Credit ministers, though retired from office, are still active in politics. Two of them, Casey and McKinnon, are serving as Directors of the Workman's Compensation Board and the Alberta Advisory Council on Human Resources respectively. While two Liberal ministers and two U.F.A. ministers joined the bench, none of the Social Credit ministers joined the judicial service, but one, C.E. Gerhart entered politics before he died in 1965. In conclusion, one can say that the door of Federal politics was wide open to the retired Liberal ministers, the U.F.A. ministers had no particular place to go, and some Social Credit ministers became beneficiaries of provincial patronage.

TABLE V-12

POST-LEGISLATIVE CAREERS OF THE MINISTERS OF
DIFFERENT REGIMES

Post-Legislative Career	Liberal		U.F.A.		S.C.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Entered Federal Politics	7	38.8	0	0	2	8.3
Entered Bench	2	11.1	2	14.3	0	0
Entered Politics in another Province	1	5.6	0	0	1	4.2
Entered Municipal Politics	0	0	0	0	1	4.2
Retired from office but still in politics	0	0	0	0	7	29.2
Retired from Politics	5	27.8	11	78.6	5	20.8
Died in Office	2	11.1	1	7.1	8	33.3
Not Known	1	5.6	--	----	-	----
Total	18	100.0	14	100.0	24	100.0

5.12 Post-Cabinet Legislative Services of the Minister of the Three Regimes

In the Liberal regime seven ministers served in the legislature for varied terms after they quit the cabinet. While there were only two such cases in the U.F.A. there were

ten instances during the Social Credit period. The post-cabinet legislative services of the members varied from one year to fifteen years; Ansley of the Social Credit regime served in the legislature for fifteen years after he left the cabinet.

TABLE V-13

POST-CABINET LEGISLATIVE SERVICES
OF THE CABINET MEMBERS

Duration in Years	Liberal	U.F.A.	Social Credit
2 Years or Less	1	2	2*
3 - 5	4	0	7
6 - 8	2	0	0
More than 9 Years	0	0	1
Total	7	2	10

*I. McLaughlin and Hooke are still serving as legislators.

5.13 A Comparison of "Typical" Cabinet Members of the
Three Regimes

The "typical" (i.e., modal) cabinet member of the Liberal regime had the following characteristics and qualifications: He was born in Ontario in a farming family, belonged to the Scottish ethnic group, and belonged to the Presbyterian Church. He had university education and

TABLE V-14

LEGISLATIVE TENURE OF MINISTERS AND BACKBENCHERS

Tenure in Years	Liberal				U.F.A.				Social Credit			
	Ministers		Backbenchers		Ministers		Backbenchers		Ministers		Backbenchers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-5	3	16.7	47	51.6	3	21.4	43	50.6	4	9.3	102	56.0
6-10	6	33.3	34	37.4	3	21.5	20	23.5	12	27.9	37	20.3
11-15	7	38.9	6	6.5	7	50.0	22	25.9	6	13.9	24	13.2
16-20	1	5.5	2	2.2	0	0.0	0		10	23.3	10	5.5
21-25	1	5.6	2	2.3	0	0.0			8	18.6	3	1.6
26-30	0		0		1	7.1	0		1	2.3	4	2.2
31-35	0		0		0		0		2	4.7	2	1.2
Total	18	100.0	91	100.0	14	100.0	85	100.0	43	100.0	182	100.0

practiced law. He was 31 to 35 years of age when first elected to the legislature and entered the cabinet when he was between 36 and 45 years of age. It is likely that he served in the legislature for 11 to 15 years and in the cabinet for less than five years. He had some political experience before elected to the legislature. He entered Federal politics after retiring from the provincial legislative service.

The "typical" cabinet member of the U.F.A. regime differed from the "typical" Liberal minister in these respects: He also was born in Ontario but into a business family. He himself was a farmer, was elected to the legislature for the first time when was he was between 41 and 45 years of age and, significantly, entered the cabinet in the same age bracket. At the end of his legislative service he retired from politics.

The "typical" cabinet minister of the Social Credit period² differs from the ministers of the other regimes in that he is a native of Alberta, is of the English ethnic group and is a member of the United Church of Canada. He comes from the teaching profession and was elected to the legislature for the first time when he was between 40 and 50 years of age. He became minister when he was between 46 and 50 years of age and served in the cabinet for 11 to 15 years; he had no political experience before he was elected to the legislature.

²Excluding the members of the present cabinet.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN LEGISLATORS OF ALBERTA

Nothing has been written on the social and political background and characteristics of the legislators of Alberta in general and of its women legislators in particular. The little primary information available is scanty and scattered. An attempt is made here to systematize the scattered pieces of information with a view to describe the political and social roles, religions and ethnic affiliations, education and age levels, and occupation patterns of the women legislators of Alberta. As a preliminary to this a brief account of the political emancipation of the women of Canada is given.

The nineteenth century had witnessed a rapid spread of liberty and equality in the western world. But in the initial stages of this democratic development, democracy had concrete meaning only for men, and for a long time for only part of them. However, it did not take long for women to realize their lack of a basic share of democratic power. They began to demand political, social and economic equality with men. Enlightened scholars like John Stuart Mill championed the cause of women's political emancipation which greatly helped the acceleration of the women's movement. This was by no means an easy task. Deeply rooted prejudice and religious stigmas stood in the way of their movement and prevented women from

attaining equal rights and political status with men for a considerable length of time. In France, though universal suffrage was introduced for men in 1792 (it suffered a set back under the empire and was finally re-established under the Third Republic) it was withheld from women until the ordinance of 1944, which enabled women to vote, for the first time, in 1945.

In Great Britain, women attained political equality only as a result of a long and bitter struggle. It is remarkable that the women of Canada in general and women of Alberta in particular, won their franchise much earlier than their counterparts in England.¹ Comparatively speaking Australia was the first to give franchise to women: the Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 gave voting rights to the women of Australia. Moreover, the women of Western and South Australia had voting privileges long before 1902. South Australia in 1894; Western Australia in 1899.

The women of the United States had to fight a long battle before winning their political rights. They spurred their efforts to win the right to vote in the post-civil-war period. Yet by World War I only a few states had given the franchise to women. It was only after

¹However, Quebec was an exception. It granted franchise to its women in 1940. In England the electoral reform bill of 1918 gave the vote to all women over the age of thirty. It was only in 1928 that this age discrimination was removed and women were placed on an equal footing with men. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., vol. 23 (1968) p. 634.

a militant campaign in 1917 that Woodrow Wilson took the side of the women's movement, which subsequently facilitated the adoption of the 19th amendment to the American constitution which gave political rights to women.²

In contrast to these facts, Canadian women, with the exception of those in Quebec, won their political rights without a fight. The Canadian effort to extend democracy to women has been "a struggle, but never a fight".³ Mrs. Anne A. Perry who was one of the leading women of the women's franchise movement declared "persuasion, not force, was the lever which gradually caused the gates of political freedom to swing open for Canadian women."⁴ Among the provinces of Canada the prairie prov-

² Amendment XIX, section one of the constitution of the United States of America reads: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The women of Wyoming enjoyed political rights from 1869, women of Colorado from 1893, Idaho 1896 and Utah 1896. Howard R. Penniman, Sait's American Parties and Elections, New York: (Appleton Century Crofts, Inc.) 5 ed., 1952, p. 55.

³ Catherine Lyle Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) p. 4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

inces were the first in granting the franchise to women: Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta gave their women political rights to vote and to hold office in 1916. The prairie provinces were thus the pioneers in the cause of women's political emancipation.

The Dominion Government of Canada gave voting rights to Women who were relatives of the members of armed forces in 1917 and they were empowered to hold office in 1919. Universal suffrage was introduced in 1918 and the Dominion Elections Act of 1920 empowered women to hold office.

This brief comparative account of women's political emancipation is given in order to emphasize the particular position of Alberta women. The suffrage movement in every Canadian province was activated and led by a small group of determined workers. They had the support of sincere and influential pressure groups like women's organizations, farmers' and labour groups, Protestant clergy and the press. In Alberta, the United Farmers' women's organization seems to have been instrumental in the political and economic emancipation of women. Fortunately there was no organized opposition to this movement in Alberta. The issue of women's suffrage was a non-party issue. "Alberta, a pioneer community, has almost always displayed a liberal attitude towards women. Alberta was the first province to elect a woman to the legislature, the first to appoint a woman judge, and closely

followed the example of British Columbia in bestowing cabinet rank upon a woman"⁵. The same author further states that the Alberta Government was the only one of the nine provinces which supported the women in their classic struggle to gain recognition as "persons" in the eye of law, which made them eligible to become members of the Canadian Senate.⁶ Mrs. Nellie McClung was the leader of the women's movement in the prairies. She had a group of able colleagues like Mrs. Janey Canuck, Mrs. Louise McKinney, Mrs. Irene Parlby, Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards and Mrs. Emily Murphy. Besides, James Speakman, President of the United Farmers' Association (whose son became a member of the legislature of Alberta in 1940) was a strong supporter of women's movement. On 9th October, 1914, the then Liberal party leader and premier of Alberta A. L. Sifton received a delegation, which claimed to represent 40,000 people, with the demand for women suffrage.⁷ Though he was not fundamentally opposed to the feminist movement he did not take immediate action to ameliorate their grievance. It seems that he wanted women to be educated before they got voting rights; also he thought that rural women were not very enthusiastic about their franchise. He was quick to point this

⁵ Cleverdon, op. cit., p. 66.

⁶ Edwards v. Attorney-General for Canada, (1930) A.C. 124.

⁷ Lewis G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) p. 164.

out when he received the women's delegation. However, in 1916 he introduced a bill in the legislature to grant the franchise to women. Michener, the then Conservative leader of the opposition and father of the present Governor-General of Canada, strongly supported the bill. Lucien Boudreau, a French Canadian member of the house, who represented the constituency of St. Albert, was the only one to oppose the bill in the house. The bill was approved by the legislature on 19th April, 1916. This statute gave the women of Alberta power not only to vote but also to hold office. In the 1917 general election two women, Mrs. Louise McKinney and Miss Roberta McAdams were elected to the legislature for the first time in the history of Alberta. The former represented Claresholm and the latter overseas servicemen.

Mrs. Louise McKinney was one of the leading figures in the women's movement in the prairie provinces of Canada. She had the unique honour of being the first woman to be elected as a legislator in the whole of Canada. She was one of the two Non-partisan League representatives in the house (the other was J. Weir). She contested the general election of 1921 on the U.F.A. ticket. She was defeated, however, by T.C. Milner, an Independent, by a small majority of forty-six votes. Born in Ontario, she was brought up on a farm. She was Irish and belonged to the Methodist Church. With the defeat in the 1921 general election her political career seemed to

have come to an end. Whatever her later history may have been, she had left a hallmark in the history of Alberta and the men and women of this province have the distinction of having been first to return a woman to a provincial legislature.

Miss McAdams, a nursing sister and dietitian, received her education at the University of Chicago and at Guelph. Before she was elected to the legislature she served in the Government of Alberta. Born in an Irish family she belonged to the Church of England. She was active in organizing women's institutes in the 1910's. As servicemen's representative - she was serving as a nursing sister in the First World War - she belonged to no political party. She was a legislator for only one term, 1917 to 1921. Not much is known about her post-legislatorial career. She married, in 1920, Mr. Price and lived in Calgary. She did not contest the 1921 general election and retired from politics thereafter.

It may be interesting to note in this connection that New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island had not elected a woman to their legislative assemblies by the time this writer was gathering material on this subject in 1968. Nova Scotia did not elect one till 1960 (Mrs. Gladys Porter) and Quebec did not elect one till 1962 when Mrs. Claire Kirkland Casgrain was elected to the legis-

lature.⁸

Mrs. Nellie Letitia McClung and Mrs. Mary I. Parlby were elected in the 1921 general election. Both of them were widely known persons who were among the "famous five".⁹ Mrs. McClung came to Alberta from Manitoba in 1914. She was not only an eloquent speaker but also a writer and a novelist. By the time she died she had fifteen books to her credit. Her contribution to the prohibition act and women's franchise act in Alberta is generally considered as substantial. Along with Mrs. Parlby, she was a Canadian delegate to the League of Nations in 1938. She was the first woman to become a member of the C.B.C. board of governors, serving in that position from 1936 till 1942. Unlike the women legislators of the fourth legislature (1917 to 1921), Mrs. Parlby and Mrs. McClung had party affiliations. The former belonged to the U.F.A. and the latter was a Liberal. Mrs. McClung and her husband moved to the west coast in 1933 where she died at the age of seventy-seven in 1950.¹⁰

⁸This account of women legislators is based on the material found in the respective volumes of the Canada Parliamentary Guide.

⁹Mrs. McClung, Mrs. Parlby, Mrs. McKinney, Emily Murphy and Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards are generally considered as the "Famous five" women because of their part in the fight to secure a senatorship to women.

¹⁰Personal file of Mrs. McClung maintained in the legislative library.

Mrs. Parlby, born in England and brought up in India (she lived in India for six years with her parents),¹¹ came to Alberta in 1896 as a visitor, married Mr. Parlby and settled down in Alberta. Coming from a politically active family (her grandfather was a member of the British House of Commons) she had a zeal for public service. As a wife of a farmer she knew the problems of farmers and took an active part in the United Farmers women's organization. In 1915 she became the President of this organization. Her political career was special and interesting in two senses. She was a member of the legislature during the entire regime of the U.F.A. from 1921 to 1935. More important, she was the first woman member of the legislature to become a cabinet minister. She was in the cabinet as a minister without portfolio for fourteen years. In 1930 she had the honour of being one of the three Canadian delegates to the League of Nations. Due to illness she retired from politics in 1935 without contesting the 1935 general election. During the sixth and seventh legislatures of Alberta, Mrs. Parlby was the lone woman M.L.A. She was one of the five Alberta women who appealed in 1929 to the Privy Council and won for women the right to become members of the Canadian Senate. Having been made an honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of Alberta

¹¹C.M. McKinney, "The Hon. Irene Parlby" (unpublished master's thesis, the University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1953) pp. 3-4.

in 1935, she subsequently served on its Board of Governors. Though shy and of retiring nature, she did contribute substantially to the political and economic emancipation of women in Alberta, and Alberta lost one of its best citizens in 1965 when Mrs. Parlby died at the age of ninety-seven.

In 1935, when the newly founded Social Credit party won a landslide victory, two seats went to its women followers: Mrs. Edith Hannah Gostick and Mrs. Edith Blanche Rogers were elected on the Social Credit ticket from Calgary and Ponoka constituencies respectively. Mrs. Gostick was born in England, Mrs. Rogers in Nova Scotia. There are many incidental similarities between these two women legislators. Both of them belonged to Anglo-Saxon stock; were the same age; belonged to the same party; were elected in the same year (1935), and both were defeated in the 1940 general election. Mrs. Rogers had the credit of defeating the ex-premier, Mr. Brownlee, in the 1935 general election. However, after her defeat in the general election of 1940, Mrs. Rogers retired from provincial politics. In 1959 she was elected a member of the Edmonton School Board, which position she still holds at the time of writing.

Born in Nova Scotia and brought up on a farm, Mrs. Gostick came to Alberta when she was young. She represented Calgary and served only one term in the legislature. After her defeat in the 1940 general election she was ap-

pointed as Provincial Librarian of the Library in the provincial legislative building. After retirement, she moved to the west coast.

The ninth legislature of Alberta had only one woman legislator. Mrs. Cornelia Wood was elected on the Social Credit ticket in the 1940 general election representing Stony Plain constituency. She has the distinction of being the woman M.L.A. of Alberta with the longest period of service. She served for twenty-three years from 1940 to 1967, with one break between 1955 and 1959. In the 1955 general election she was defeated by a Liberal candidate, Mr. McLaughlin, but she was re-elected from the same constituency in the 1959 and 1963 general elections. She was born and raised on a farm in the United States, coming to Alberta in 1904 when she was twelve years old. She evinced keen and active interest in public life. She was the mayor of Stony Plain and Chairman of the local school board. From 1937 to 1940, she was a member of Social Credit's women's auxiliary organization and the Alberta Women's Institute. Her political career came to an end in 1967 when, due to some differences with the Social Credit party, she contested the general election as an Independent Social Crediter.¹² She suffered a hum-

¹²The writer was told that Mrs. Wood was placed on the Social Credit party ticket in 1963 on the understanding that she would retire from office in 1967 to give a chance for a younger candidate.

iliating defeat in the election, polling the least number of votes, and losing her deposit. Thus ended the legislative career of the woman whose tenure was the longest among the women legislators of Alberta.

Mrs. Rose Wilkinson was one of the two women elected to the legislature in the 1944 general election. She was an M.L.A. for nineteen years, from 1944 to 1963. She represented Calgary throughout and belonged to the Social Credit party. Regarding length of tenure among women, she was second only to Mrs. Cornelia Wood. Born in Ireland, she came to the United States, where she met and married Mr. Wilkinson of Saskatchewan, and the couple came to Calgary in 1927. She had ample political experience before she was elected to the legislature, having been a councillor and Alderman of Calgary for twenty years. She was very popular among Calgarians. Her motto was "Do all the good you can, to all the people you can and at all the time you can". "Rosie", as she was popularly called, was a kind-hearted social worker.¹³ She did not contest the 1963

¹³An incident is narrated in her biographical file maintained in the Glenbow foundation at Calgary: One rainy day a certain family at Calgary was thrown out by their landlord. The distressed people phoned "Rosie" for help. Not minding the pouring rain, she took her own furniture and clothings and went there personally to deliver them.

general election and retired from politics thereafter. Much to the surprise and disappointment of Calgarians she moved to Edmonton with a view to live closer to her son in 1966 and died in 1968 at the age of eighty-three.

Mrs. Edith Beatrice Thurston was also elected on the Social Credit ticket in 1944 and served in the legislature for only one term. She had no political experience before she was elected to the legislature. She was born in England in 1882 and migrated to Canada at a young age. There is nothing very spectacular in her political life. She retired from politics in 1948. The writer was informed that she left Edmonton in the next year and that she retired from politics altogether.

Born and brought up in Alberta, Mrs. Gladys Robinson was the wife of a member of the Alberta legislature from 1935 to 1953. She was elected in a by-election in 1953 to the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Robinson. Like her husband, she was elected on the Social Credit ticket. There is very little information about her pre-legislative career. It seems she had no political experience except for her participation in general elections on her husband's behalf. However, she was re-elected in the 1955 and 1959 general elections and throughout she represented the constituency of Medicine Hat. She died in 1961 while a member of the legislature.

Mrs. Ethel Sylvia Wilson is one of the two women legislators born in Alberta. She was first elected in the 1959 general election to represent Edmonton North. Brought up on her father's farm, she was educated in the public schools and in business college and had considerable political and organizational experience before she was elected to the legislature. She was Alderman and Secretary-Treasurer of the Edmonton City Council. She was also a member of the Edmonton women's club. She was appointed a minister without portfolio in 1962, which post she holds at the time of writing. Thus she is the second woman to have become a cabinet minister in Alberta.

In summerizing the biographies of the eleven women legislators of Alberta, we find that seven belonged to the Social Credit party, one to the Liberal party, one to the U.F.A. and two to no party. All belonged to the Anglo-Saxon ethnic group: six (Mrs. Parlby, Mrs. Gostick, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Thurston and Mrs. Wilson) were English, three (Mrs. McKinney, Mrs. McClung and Mrs. Wilkinson) Irish, and two, (Mrs. Rogers and Miss McAdams), Scottish.

So far as their occupations were concerned, eight were working women and three housewives. As regards religion, two of the women legislators were Presbyterians, three Methodists, one Baptist, one Anglican, one Pentecostal, one Catholic and two belonged to the United Church of Canada. In other words, ten of them were Protestants

TABLE VI-1

ETHNIC ORIGIN, RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND POLITICAL PARTY
AFFILIATION OF THE WOMEN LEGISLATORS OF ALBERTA

Ethnic Origin	No.	%	Religion	No.	%	Political Party	No.	%
English	6	54.5	Presbyterians	2	18.2	Liberal	1	9.1
Irish	3	27.3	Methodists	3	27.3	U.F.A.	1	9.1
Scotch	2	18.2	U. Church of Canada	2	18.1	Social Credit	7	63.6
			Baptist	1	9.1	Non-partisan	2	18.2
			Church of England	1	9.1			
			Pentecostal	1	9.1			
			Roman Catholic	1	9.1			
Total	11	100.0	Total	11	100.0	Total	11	100.0

and only one a Catholic. All the women legislators were formally educated; two (Miss McAdams and Mrs. R. Wilkinson) had university training, two had collegiate education, four had high school education, and three had less than high school education. Four (Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Wood, and Mrs. McKinney) were born and brought up in farm families. Seven of the women legislators came from urban areas. Nine were either foreign born or born outside Alberta. While at least three were first elected past the age of 65, it seems that no woman entered the legislature at an age below forty.

Summary

We can summarize by saying that the women of Alberta were aggressive politically, securing early representation in legislature and Cabinet and being instrumental in establishing the right of women to sit in the senate of Canada. If the number of women legislators remained small, eleven is still a respectable number if we consider the short history of women's political rights in Alberta.

As we compare the women legislators of Alberta with their male Colleagues, we find them to be older at the time of election (none below the age of forty was elected), and to have less formal education. None of the women was engaged in business or farming, and all of them were of Anglo-Saxon stock. Because of the recent history of their involvement in the legislative life of Alberta it is not surprising to find that the majority of women leg-

TABLE VI-2

EDUCATION LEVEL AND OCCUPATION PATTERNS OF
WOMEN LEGISLATORS OF ALBERTA

Education Level	No.	%	Occupation	No.	%
Less than High School	3	27.3	Housewives	4	36.4
High School	4	36.4	Nursing	2	18.2
Collegiate Education	2	18.2	Author	1	9.1
University Education	2	18.1	Teachers	2	18.1
			Telegraphic Operator	1	9.1
			Employee in Industry	1	9.1
Total	11	100.0	Total	11	100.0

TABLE VI-3

AGE AT ELECTION TO THE LEGISLATURE AND BIRTH PLACES
OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS OF ALBERTA

Age at Election	No.	%	Birth Place	No.	%
40-45	2	18.2	(1) Alberta	2	18.2
45-50	3	27.3	(2) Ontario	3	27.3
50-55	2	18.1	(3) Nova Scotia	1	9.0
55-60	2	18.2	(4) England	3	27.3
60 & Over	1	9.1	(5) Ireland	1	9.1
Not Known	1	9.1	(6) U.S.A.	1	9.1
Total	11	100.0	Total	11	100.0

islators represented the Social Credit party.

CHAPTER VII

SOME SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS OF ALBERTA COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION

A full census of Canada was taken six times since the province of Alberta was established in 1905. In this chapter some of the socio-economic characteristics of legislators and ministers are compared to the total population of the province. Census data of 1911 are used for comparison with the Liberal regime, those of 1921 and 1931 for comparison with the U.F.A. period, and data from the last three (1941, 1951, 1961) for comparison with the Social Credit era.

7.1 Birth-Place

In considering birth-places, we find that Alberta-born population grew from approximately one-fifty of the total population of Alberta in 1911 to two-fifths in 1931. Yet during the entire Liberal and U.F.A. periods there was not a single legislator born in the province. Census data from the Social Credit era show an increase of native Albertans from about one-half to sixty per cent. They were still under-represented¹ in political office (see table VII-3. Also see tables VII-1 and VII-2 for other regimes), but native born

¹Throughout this chapter, such terms as equitable representation, over-representation and under-representation, refer to the numerical proportion of segments of the population to these same segments among elective officers.

ministers of the period came close to one-half. In contrast to those born in Alberta, the Ontario-born have been strongly represented in Alberta's political life. The proportion of Ontario-born legislators and ministers has constituted, in all regimes, a contingent about three times that in the general population. The over-representation of those born in the whole of Canada in both legislature and cabinet was marked in the Liberal era only. The British-born were very sharply over-represented in the U.F.A. period, especially in cabinets, though they had been under-represented during the previous regime. This over-representation indicates the strength in the U.F.A. movement of recent radical immigrants from the United Kingdom, an element found also among early CCF leaders in the prairie region. A slight over-representation of those born in the United States exists in the Social Credit era. In brief, the findings suggest that the people born in Alberta had no representation in the first two regimes and were under-represented in the third. People born in Canada dominated the legislatures of the Liberal era, were under-represented in the U.F.A. regime and equitably represented in the Social Credit period.

7.2 Ethnic Origin

Anglo-Saxons have been over-represented throughout the history of the province. They always constituted about one-half of the population, but the poorest representation of the group has been in Social Credit cabinets - seventy per cent. U.F.A. cabinets had nothing but Anglo-Saxon members.

If we except the five Social Credit ministers of Norwegian origin, all other European elements (other than the Anglo-Saxons) have tended to be under-represented. However, their political position was a lot better during the Social Credit era; 28% of cabinet members and 21% of legislators of this period were drawn from continental European ethnic groups. The French Canadians, on the whole, had equitable representation in the legislature, but they were under-represented in the cabinets of the U.F.A. and Social Credit regimes. For Ukrainians, there has been a trend from non-representation to at least substantial, though still not equitable, representation. Non-Europeans, including American Indians and Metis, never had any representation at all. (see tables VII-4,5,6).

7.3 Religion

Tables VII-7,8, and 9 give a comparative picture of various religious groups and their representation in the governments of Alberta. Protestants have made up between two-thirds and three-fifths of the population of the province. Their political representation has never been below four-fifths. Among Protestants, the United Church, its precursors, and other Presbyterians--always making up about one-third of the population--have steadily lost political representation, yet have always done well. From two-thirds of the Liberal legislators and ministers they declined to a share of a little more than two-fifths during the Social Credit period. Surprisingly, Anglicans have tended to have a political representation somewhat below their share of the population. It

seems reasonable to assume that the preponderance of "non-conformists" over Anglicans, especially in the U.F.A. era, reflects a preponderance of the Scottish over the English element in the political life of the province. Lutherans tended to obtain their equitable share only among Social Credit ministers. Evangelical and other Protestants, always below one-tenth of Alberta's total population, made up one-fifth of U.F.A. cabinet members and, with thirty-five per cent of ministers, the second religious group in strength in Social Credit cabinets. Catholics in Alberta have increased from an initial one-sixth to the present one-fourth, but their political representation throughout has averaged about one-tenth. The Orthodox have had very few legislators but never had a cabinet member.

In short, it can be said that Alberta is a Protestant province. Though the Protestants are declining numerically, over time, politically they are as strong as they were before. As a contrast, Catholics, whose size in the population increased over time, continue to be under-represented among political decision-makers.

7.4 Occupation

Occupationally, the three Alberta regimes have differed to a considerable extent. Business and professional groups which constituted less than 8% of the total population, made up two-thirds of Liberal legislators (66.4%) and eight-ninths (88.9%) of the ministers of that period. But less than one-

half of the U.F.A. legislators and only 28.6% of that era's ministers were drawn from these occupations. Under Social Credit, business and professional groups again furnished 71.5% of the legislators and 79% of the ministers even though their size in the population was only, on an average, 14%. The first and last of the three periods were similar also in that in both the business and professional contingents were balanced. While the ministers were mostly professionals, lawyers were grossly over-represented in the Liberal period and teachers in the Social Credit era. Alberta's agricultural population was about one-half of the total from 1911 to 1941; it then dropped to one-third in 1951 and to one-fourth in 1961. The U.F.A. regime gave farmers equitable representation in the legislature and over-representation (71.4%) in the cabinet. Under the two other regimes farmers have been under-represented, more so in the cabinet than in the legislature. Census classifications make it difficult to account for the "others" in the population, though their increase from two-fifths in 1911-1941 to three-fifths in 1961 is no doubt due to expanded groups of industrial, clerical and general service workers. While these "other" groups constituted, on an average, close to one-half of the population, they had no political representation under the Liberals, and later never more than five per cent. On the basis of these observations and statistics one can state that during the Liberal regime the government was largely made up of professionals and businessmen; that during the U.F.A.

farming elements dominated the government, while middle class professionals and teachers seem to be the dominant element in the Social Credit era.

7.5 Education

Census data make it very difficult to give a clear picture of the educational levels of the general population before 1961. For that year, the higher educational attainment of those in leading political positions is clear. About half of them have at least some university education, while only seven per cent of the population (those above ten years of age and not attending school) are in this category. Of the total population in 1961, 37.6% had only elementary education (2.2% had no schooling at all), and 53% had secondary education. Among political leaders without university, the proportion of those with elementary schooling only was, surprisingly, higher. While we lack earlier useable educational data for the population, we can reasonably assume that the average educational attainment was lower rather than higher before 1961. Since the attainment of elected leaders did not increase, the discrepancy between them and the population can be assumed to have been greater in the earlier eras.

7.6 Summary

How representative of the population are Alberta's legislators and ministers? Generally, the elected political leaders were better educated, belonged in greater proportions

to business and the professions, and were more Anglo-Saxon and more United Church or Presbyterian. Yet we cannot state that the best educated people and the highest prestige professions controlled Alberta's political life throughout. It looks as though the lawyer-dominated Liberal cabinets presented the greatest congruence between social and political elites in Alberta's history. In contrast, legislators and ministers of the U.F.A., dominated by farming elements, were more similar to the population's socio-economic make-up than elected political leaders of the other regimes.

VII-1

BIRTH-PLACES OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
WITH THAT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, LIBERAL PERIOD

Place	Population (1911 Census) %	Leg. %	Ministers. %
Alberta	19.6	-	-
Ontario	15.4	56.6	66.7
Other Canada	18.3	18.9	27.8
Sub-Total Canada	43.3	75.5	94.5
British Isles	17.6	11.3	5.5
U.S.A.	21.7	7.5	-
Others	17.4	5.7	-
Total	100	100	100

VII-2

BIRTH-PLACES OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
WITH THAT OF THE POPULATION, U.F.A. PERIOD

Place	Population 1921 % 1931 Census Census	Leg. %	Ministers %
Alberta	33.1 41.1	-	-
Ontario	11.7 8.1	34.0	28.6
Other Canada	8.8 9.1	16.0	21.4
Sub-Total Canada	53.6 58.2	50.0	50.0
British Isles	16.6 14.6	27.7	42.9
U.S.A.	17.0 10.8	13.8	7.1
Others	12.8 16.4	8.5	-
Total	100 100	100	100

TABLE VII-3

BIRTH-PLACE OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE POPULATION, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Place	Population %			Leg. %	Min. %
	1941 Census	1951 Census	1961 Census		
Alberta	52.1	56.2	59.1	36.9	46.6
Ontario	6.2	4.9	19.2	17.3	16.3
Others-Canada	9.3	13.4		4.5	13.9
Sub-Total Canada	67.6	74.5	78.3	68.7	76.8
British Isles	10.7	7.9	5.9	12.6	11.6
U.S.A.	8.3	5.8	3.9	13.6	11.6
Others	13.4	11.8	11.9	5.1	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VII-4

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE POPULATION OF ALBERTA, LIBERAL PERIOD

Ethnic Group	Population (1911 Census) %	Leg. %	Min. %
Anglo-Saxon	51.4	87.4	83.3
French	5.3	4.9	16.7
Russian-Ukrainian	2.5	.9	-
Other European	27.7	6.8	-
Asians	.6	-	-
Native Indians	3.1	-	-
Others	9.4	-	-
Total	100	100	100

TABLE VII-5

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION, U.F.A. PERIOD

Ethnic Group	Population %		Leg. %	Min. %
	(1921 Census)	(1931 Census)		
Anglo-Saxon	59.8	53.2	81.9	100
French	5.3	5.2	7.4	-
Russian-Ukrainian	7.7	9.9	4.3	-
Other European	23.9	28.7	6.4	-
Asians	.7	.7	-	-
Native Indians	2.4	2.1	-	-
Others	.2	.2	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE VII-6

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Ethnic Group	Population %			Leg. %	Min. %
	1941 Cen.	1951 Cen.	1961 Cen.		
Anglo-Saxon	50.2	48.1	45.2	74.1	69.8
French	5.4	6.0	6.3	5.4	2.3
Russian-Ukrainian	11.4	10.9	9.3	6.8	4.6
Norwegian	3.7	3.6	3.2	2.9	11.7
Other European	25.9	26.9	31.9	10.8	11.6
Asians	.5	.7	.9	-	-
Native Indians	2.7	2.3	2.1	-	-
Others	.2	1.5	1.1	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VII-7
RELIGION OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION, LIBERAL PERIOD

Religion	Population % (1911 Census)	Leg. %	Min. %
Presbyterians & Methodists	34.9	64.6	66.7
Church of England	14.9	15.7	11.1
Lutheran	11.5	3.9	-
Baptist, Evangelical & other Protestants	6.6	6.9	5.5
Sub-Total, Protestants	67.9	91.1	83.3
Orthodox	4.8	1.0	-
Catholic	16.6	6.9	16.7
Others	10.7	1.0	-
Total	100	100	100

TABLE VII-8
RELIGION OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION, U.F.A. ERA

Religion	Population % (1921 Cen.)	Population % (1931 Cen.)	Leg. %	Min. %
United Church & Presbyterians*	36.4	34.0	47.9	57.1
Church of England	16.7	15.5	10.6	14.3
Lutheran	10.1	11.3	-	-
Baptist, Evangelical & other Protestants	5.6	4.8	22.3	21.5
Sub-Total, Protestants	68.8	65.6	80.8	92.9
Orthodox	6.1	3.6	2.1	-
Catholic	16.5	23.0	12.8	7.1
Others	8.6	7.8	4.3	-
Total	100	100	100	100

*Including the precursors of the United Church of Canada.

TABLE VII-9

RELIGION OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Religion	Population %			Leg. %	Min. %
	(1941 cen.)	(1951 cen.)	(1961 cen.)		
United Church & Presbyterian*	33.0	35.3	35.6	45.6	41.8
Church of England	14.2	13.1	11.7	9.9	7.0
Lutheran	10.6	9.3	9.2	2.4	7.0
Baptist, Evangeli- cal & other Prot.	4.7	4.5	3.6	25.6	34.9
Sub-Total, Protest.	62.5	62.2	60.1	83.4	90.7
Orthodox	4.4	4.3	3.6	4.3	-
Catholic	24.1	23.8	25.2	12.3	9.3
Others	9.0	9.7	11.1	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*Including the precursors of the United Church of Canada.

TABLE VII-10

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE POPULATION*, LIBERAL ERA

Occupation	Population % (1911 census)	Leg. %	Min. %
Professional	3.1	28.1	66.7
Proprietary & } Managerial	4.8	38.3	22.2
Agriculture	49.9	30.8	11.1
Others	42.2	2.8	-
Total	100	100	100

*Labour force fifteen years of age and over by occupation division.

TABLE VII-11

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION*, U.F.A. PERIOD

Occupation	Population %		Leg. %	Min. %
	(1921 census)	(1931 census)		
Professional	4.5	5.1	26.0	21.5
Proprietary & Managerial	5.9	4.8	21.9	7.1
Agriculture	52.8	50.9	50.0	71.4
Others	36.8	39.2	2.1	-
Total	100	100	100	100

*Labour force fifteen years of age and over by occupation division.

TABLE VII-12

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION*, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Occupation	Population %			Leg. %	Min. %
	(1941 cen.)	(1951 cen.)	(1961 cen.)		
Professional	5.6	6.8	9.6	36.2	60.4
Proprietary & Managerial	5.0	7.2	8.0	35.3	18.6
Agriculture	49.0	32.5	21.3	24.0	16.3
Others	40.4	53.5	61.1	4.5	4.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*Labour force fifteen years of age and over by occupation division.

TABLE VII-13

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS COMPARED
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION*, SOCIAL CREDIT PERIOD

Educational Level	Population % (1961 census)	Leg. %	Min. %
Elementary	37.6	24.8	20.9
Secondary	53.1	25.7	25.6
University	7.1	49.5	53.5
Others	2.2	-	-
Total	100	100	100

*Population ten years of age and over and not attending school.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Summary.

This study has taken the best-known fact of Alberta politics, - the existence of three successive party regimes, each with a dominant party and a weak, often splintered, opposition, - and shown how each of these three regimes was made up of groups of legislators differing considerably one to another.

Marked differences among the three regimes were not found in regard to age at first election. The bulk of legislators of the Social Credit period having entered into office when they were older than the others.

It was found that all legislators of the first two regimes - Liberal and U.F.A. - were born outside Alberta. Only the Social Credit period, beginning a full generation after Alberta became a province, witnessed the increase of indigenous political leaders.

The findings on ethnic identities of members reveal that the Anglo-Saxons, though dominant throughout, diminished progressively over the years. The studies of Martin Robin and David Smith show similar trends in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.¹ Like her two neighbours, Alberta never elected

¹M. Robin, "A Profile of the B.C. Legislature", Canadian Dimension, vol. 3, No. 2, Jan., 1966, D.E. Smith, "The Membership of the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly, 1905-66", Saskatchewan History, vol. 20, spring '67, p. 51.

a legislator of Asian origin. Of the three Western provinces, only British Columbia ever elected an American Indian. All legislators of Alberta were of European stock.

The United Church of Canada, Presbyterians and other "non-conformist" groups tended to have a dominant but diminishing representation, over time, in the legislatures of Alberta. Anglicans never had an undue share of decision-makers, while Baptists and other evangelical groups, already over-represented in the U.F.A. period, accounted for one-third of the Social Credit Cabinet ministers. Catholics were under-represented throughout, the Orthodox more so and, unlike her two neighbours, Alberta never elected a Jew. In general, the religious composition of Alberta legislators agrees with the religious composition of legislators of Saskatchewan as shown by Smith.²

Norman Ward's findings show that the Canadian House of Commons never represented in fair proportion all the various occupations of the Canadian population at large.³ This statement is true with reference to the occupational composition of Alberta legislators as well. While professions and business made up only a small fraction of the total population, these groups were strongly over-represented among Alberta's political decision-makers during the Liberal era. Law especially was

²D.E. Smith, loc. cit., p. 51 and tables III and VIII.

³Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons, Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1963, p. 123.

grossly over-represented in the Social Credit era. Agriculture, on the other hand, did not get adequate representation during the Liberal and the Social Credit periods. The findings of D.E. Smith about the occupational composition of the legislatures of Saskatchewan show that agriculture was a dominant occupation throughout.⁴ Only in the U.F.A. period is a similarly strong representation of farmers found only in Alberta. Throughout Alberta's history, the political representation of workers has been negligible, though there once were two Labour M.P.s from Alberta in Ottawa.

Alberta was one of the first provinces to give voting rights to women. Despite this pioneering position it elected in fifty years, only the small number of eleven women. Of these eleven only two were cabinet members. Thus women were under-represented in both legislatures and Cabinets of Alberta. However, comparatively speaking, their position was better in Alberta than it was in Saskatchewan where only five women were elected to the legislature till 1964.⁵

The pre-legislative political experience of legislators of Alberta was higher in the Liberal and U.F.A. eras than in the Social Credit period. This phenomenon is in agreement with Ward's observation about the Pre-legislative political experience of the members of the House of Commons: "...the

⁴D.E. Smith, loc. cit., p. 49 and table IV.

⁵D.E. Smith, loc. cit., Footnote, p. 47.

number of members without any previous political experience whatever has increased substantially, and was actually lowest for the first parliament."⁶

Tenure of legislators of the U.F.A. and the Social Credit periods was stabler and longer than those of the legislators of the Liberal period. (This instability of tenure of legislators of the Liberal period was due to many resignations and deaths of members).^{6a}

Findings on cabinet ministers suggest that while political power was held successively by different men during the Liberal period, it tended to remain in the hands of a few during the U.F.A. and Social Credit periods. This is specially so in the Social Credit era, in which many cabinet members have accumulated long years of cabinet service.

In all there were sixteen general elections in Alberta from 1905-67. An account of turnover of members - excluding the two general elections of 1921 and 1935 when new parties swept into power - shows that the turnover rate was highest during the Liberal regime and lowest during the Social Credit era. These findings agree with those of Smith for Saskatchewan,⁷ where individual turnover is higher among Liberals than in

⁶N. Ward, op. cit., p. 123.

^{6a}Byelection figures show that there were twenty-nine byelections caused by death or resignation of members during the Liberal era, thirteen during the U.F.A. period and twenty-four during the Social Credit era (excluding ministers re-election).

⁷D.E. Smith, loc. cit., Table III, P. 55.

the C.C.F.

A number of personalities in Canadian national politics: a Prime Minister, R.B. Bennett; two federal ministers, A.L. Sifton and Charles Stewart; and Solon Low, the leader of the Federal Social Credit party, received their early political experience in the Alberta legislature. The legislature was also the site of the political career of Irene Parlby, the first female cabinet minister in Canada, and of two premiers who became known far beyond the border of Canada: William Aberhart and Ernest C. Manning. This number, however, is not a sufficient ground to claim that the legislators of Alberta as a whole were men of extra-ordinary stature. On the whole they were ordinary men, stemming from the province's businessmen, professional people and farmers.

8.2 Conclusions

In the light of recent developments in the population pattern of Alberta one has to modify the thrust of Porter's and Ward's view that the western provinces have relied more than others on people born outside their regions.⁸ Though Porter deals with ministers only, and Ward with federal members, they suggest that the west imports its political leaders. As far as Alberta is concerned, such an implication applies to its past history only; in the first two regimes from 1905-

⁸J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto; University of Toronto press, (1965) N. Ward, The House of Commons, p. 128.

1935 not one single legislator was born in the province. According to the census of 1941, 1951 and 1961, on the average, 56% of the total population of Alberta was native born; thirty-seven per cent of the legislators of this period were native Albertans. This suggests that the political leaders of this province are fast becoming indigenous.

While the political elite of Alberta throughout its political history was not representative of the population it led, it was most unrepresentative during the Liberal regime. The Anglo-Saxons especially were more highly represented than others. Religiously, it was the various precursors of the United Church of Canada that had over-representation, again at the expense of all others. Occupationally, professions and business, heavily over-represented in the legislature, had a virtual monopoly in the cabinet. The over-representation of lawyers was especially significant. This account enables us to draw the conclusion that the political elite of Liberal Alberta did not represent adequately the population it led.

During the U.F.A. era, the writer has hypothesized in the first chapter that here there would be the closest approximation, in social make-up, of legislators and people of Alberta, and that the U.F.A. legislators would be similar to early CCF legislators in Saskatchewan regarding occupation, religion and ethnicity. The findings of Smith regarding the CCF legislators of Saskatchewan in 1934 and 1938 show that all but one of them were farmers.^{8a} During the U.F.A. period

^{8a}D.E. Smith, loc. cit., Table VI, p. 58.

in Alberta, one-half of the legislators (57% of whom were members of the U.F.A. caucus and nearly three-fourths of the U.F.A. Cabinet ministers, were farmers. U.F.A. legislators as well as early CCF. legislators in Saskatchewan were preponderantly Anglo-Saxon and both groups had "non-conformist" protestant majorities.^{8b} Thus we may conclude that the social backgrounds of CCF legislators of Saskatchewan and those of the U.F.A. period were, to a large extent, similar. At the same time, the preponderance of farmers over business and professional people makes the U.F.A. political elite the most representative of the general population in Alberta's history.

The group of evangelical sects is an important element in the Social Credit movement, and Social Credit has, relatively speaking, furthered the political careers of non-Anglo-Saxons of European stock. We do indeed find heavy representation of evangelicals in the Social Credit leadership, and the penetration of a number of non-British and non-French Europeans, - especially Norwegians, - into Alberta's political elite. Robin's hypotheses along both dimensions are borne out.⁹

Porter's statement that political elites in Canada are most unrepresentative in regard to educational background applies largely to Alberta.¹⁰ Nothing like the 86% cited by

^{8b} Ibid., Table VIII, p. 59.

⁹ Martin Robin, "A Profile of the B.C. Legislature," Canadian Dimension, Vol. 3, No. 2, Jan., 1966, p. 26.

¹⁰ J. Porter, op. cit., p. 388.

Porter for federal ministers and similar officers has higher education in the cabinets of Alberta; but one-half of university-trained Social Credit political elite members (slightly more than 50% in cabinets; slightly fewer than 50% in the legislature) contrast with a mere 7% reported for the Alberta population by the 1961 census.

We have thus found Alberta legislators to be typical of Canadian legislators to the extent that their socio-economic and educational status was higher than that of the population at large. But only the Liberal era, with its large contingent of lawyers, its Ontario-Protestant make-up, and its great preponderance of university-trained, had a political elite as closely representative of Canada's social elite as Porter finds it for the country as a whole. From then on, the impact of the two non-elitist movements, U.F.A. and Social Credit, has opened Alberta's political elite, if not to the under-privileged, so at least to farmers, teachers, evangelical protestants, and those of continental European extraction. Finally, during the past generation, increasing numbers of native Albertans have shared in the government of the province.

The writer emphasized at the outset that this study is socio-historical. In years to come, we can expect further research on the legislators of Alberta, probably of a behavioural nature. While such behavioural studies -- on legislative roles, attitudes, and similar characteristics -- can be replicated in the future, replications cannot be made to

apply to past legislators. The data collected here, however, will make it possible to demonstrate to what extent and in which ways a group of legislators subjected to behavioural analysis is typical, along social dimensions, of past legislators who served in Alberta. The conclusions arrived at in this study have been based in part on hypotheses and conclusions presented in a few other studies of legislators in Canada. Both data and conclusions presented here should prove useful for a comprehensive study of Canadian legislators on federal and provincial levels, once such a study is undertaken.

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2. Brandak, Official in the Alberta Prov-
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3. Brownlee, Mrs. J.E., Wife of ex-premier Brownlee.
4. Dechene, J., Judge - son of late M.L.A.
J.M. Dechene.
5. Home, G., Librarian, Legislature Library,
Edmonton.

6. Hunters, Mrs., Secretary, Social Credit
 League, Edmonton.
7. Jamieson, Miss, Archivists, Glenbow Foundation,
 Calgary.
8. Kennedy, O., Social Credit League President.
9. MacLoy, Archivist, Director of Glenbow
 Foundation, Calgary.
10. McCuaig, Mrs. Stanley, Daughter of ex-premier
 A.C. Rutherford.
11. Milner, J.F., Old timer, Veteran's home.
12. Niddrie, J.G., Brother of ex-M.L.A. Niddrie.
13. Page, J.P., Ex-Lt.-Governor and M.L.A.
14. Reid, R.G., Ex-premier and present librarian
 at the Canadian Utilities.

F. POSTAL CORRESPONDENCE

1. Esley, Mrs. Clarence, 403, Garrison, Crescent,
 Saskatoon. Niece of G.P.
 Smith, ex-M.L.A.
2. Cook, Mrs. N.E., Wife of N.E. Cook, ex-M.L.A.
3. Lionell, Mrs. Marianne, Vancouver. Daughter of
 Capt. R. Pearson, ex-M.L.A.
4. Steen, Mrs., Step daughter of N.E. Cook,
 ex-M.L.A.

G. PHONE

1. Geldart, Dr. M.L.A.
2. Heard, Dr. L.F., M.L.A.
3. MacGillivray, Mr., Son of MacGillivray, M.L.A.

4. Mitchell, Miss Barbara, Judge. Niece of H.J.
Montgomery, ex-M.L.A.
5. Moore, A., Son of A.B. Moore, ex-M.L.A.
6. Wilkinson, Gne, Son of Mrs. R. Wilkinson.

APPENDIX I

The Legislators and Cabinet members of Alberta from 1905-69 and the constituencies they represented and other details, explained below, are shown.

The notations used in this appendix are explained below:

- L = Liberal party
 - C = Conservative party
 - U = U.F.A. (United farmers' of Alberta.
 - S = Social Credit
 - G = Socialist-Labour groups including C.C.F. and N.D.P.
 - I = Independents
 - A = Army and Soldiers
 - + = Served previously in the Assembly
 - * = Service terminated in the middle of the tenure.
 - ⊙ = Represented different constituencies
 - = (Names underlined represent) Ministers
- For example: C.S. Pingle^{+⊙*} (1925-28. L.)

This should be read as C.S. Pingle served in the legislature between 1925-28, was a Liberal, served in the previous legislature, was a cabinet member, represented a different constituent and his tenure was terminated in

the middle of the term either by death or
resignation or by court's declaration.

1. Acadia J.A. McColl (1913-21 L.)
L. Proundfoot (1921-35 U.)
N. James (1935-40 S.) Became
Acadia-Coronation
2. Acadia-Coronation C.E. Gerhart (1940-55 S.)
J.L. Sims (1955-59 L.)
M.A. Kelts (1959-63 S.)
Became Acadia-Hand Hills
3. Acadia-Hand Hills C.K. French (1963- S)
4. Alexandra A.B. Moore (1909-13 L.)
J.R. Lowaey (1913-21 C)
P.J. Enzenauer (1921-35 U)
S.A. Berg (1935-48 S)
A.O. Aalborg (1948- S)
5. Athabasca W.F. Bredin (1905-09 L)
J.L. Côté (1909-13 L)
A.G. Mackay* (1913-20 L)
G. Mills (1920-26 L)
J.W. Frame (1926-30 L)
F.R. Falconer (1930-35 L)
C.H. Tade* (1935 S) (1938-40 S)
C.C. Ross* (1935-38 S)
W.G. Lee (1940-52 S)
A. Aloisio⁺ (1952-55 S) (1959-- S)
R.E. Hall (1955-59 L)

6. Banff
 - C.W. Fisher* (1905-19 L)
 - A. Moore (1919-26 U)
 - R.M. McCool (1926-35 U)
 - W.R. King (1935-40 S)
 - Became Banff-Cochrane
7. Banff-Cochrane
 - F. Laut (1940-48 I)
 - A. Wray (1948-52 S)
 - L.L. Leavitt (1952-55 S)
 - F.L. Gainer 1955-67 S)
 - C. Copithorne (1967-- I)
8. Beaver River
 - W. Gariepy (1913-21 L)
 - J.M. Dechene (1921-26 L)
 - J.A. Delisle (1926-30 U)
 - H.H. Dakin (1930-35 L)
 - J.L.P. Maynard (1935-48 S)
 - H. Lobay (1948-52 S)
 - Became Bonnyville
9. Bonnyville
 - L. Jolly ⁺⁰ (1952-55 S)
 - J. Josvanger (1955-59 L)
 - K. Nordstrom* (1959-61 S)
 - R.B. Lamothe (1961-- S)
10. Bow Valley
 - G.B. Lane* (1913-13 L)
 - C.R. Mitchell⁺⁰ (1913-26 L)
 - J.T. Shaw (1926-30 L)
 - J. Mackintosh (1930-35 I)
 - W.E. Kain (1935-40 S)
 - Became Bow Valley-Empress

11. Bow Valley-Empress W.E. Kain[©] (1940-55 S)
 B.C. Stringam (1955-59 I)
 W. Delday (1959-67 S)
 F.T. Mendeville (1967-- S)
12. Bruce J.L. Macpherson[©] (1940-48 S)
 E.M. Hardy (1948-63 S)
 Became Vegreville-Bruce
13. Calgary W.H. Cushing (1905-13 L)
 R.B. Bennett* (1909-11 C)
 T.M.M. Tweedie (1911-17 C)
 T. H. Blow (1913-21 G)
 S.B. Hillock (1913-17 C)
 A. Ross (1917-26 G)
 W.M. Davidson (1917-21 I) (+1923-26 I)
 R.C. Edward* (1921-23 C)
 F.J. White (1921-35 G)
 R.C. Marshel (1921-26 L)
 R. Pearson (1921-26 I)
 A.A. McGillivray (1926-30 C)
 G.H. Webster* (1926-34 L)
 J. Irwin (1926-40 C)
 R.H. Parkin (1926-30 G)
 J.J. Bowlen (1930-66 L)
 H.C. Farthing (1930-35 C)
 H.W. McGill* (1930-33 C)
 N. Hindsley (1933-35 C)
 W.H. Ross (1934-35 L)

- E.C. Manning (1935-40 S)
 F. Anderson (1935-48 S)
 H. Gostick (1935-40 S)
 J.W. Hugill (1935-40 S)
 W. Aberhart^{⊙*} (1940-43 S)
 A. Davidson (1940-48 I)
 J.C. Mahaffy (1940-44 I)
 Mrs. R. Wilkinson (1944-59 S)
 A.J. Liesemer (1944-52 G)
 A. Dixon (1948-59 S)
 H.J. McDonald (1948-59 L)
 F.C. Colborne[⊙] (1948-59 S)
 P.R. Brecken (1952-58 C)
 J.W.G. MacSwan (1955-59 L)
14. Calgary Bowness C. Johnston (1959-67 C)
 L.F. Werry (1967-- C)
15. Calgary Centre F.C. Colborne[⊙] (1959-- S)
16. Calgary Glenmore E.S. Watkins[⊙] (1959-63 C)
 W. Dickie (1963-- L)
17. Calgary North Mrs. R. Wilkinson[⊙] (1959-63 S)
 R.A. Simpson (1963-- S)
18. Calgary North-East E. Ludwig (1959-- S)
19. Calgary Queenspark L.L. Leavitt⁺ (1963-- S)
20. Calgary South-East A.J. Dixon[⊙] (1959-- S)
21. Calgary Victoria
 Park D.J. Russell (1967-- C)

22. Calgary West D.S. Fleming (1959-67 S)
E.D. Loughheed (1967-- C)
23. Camrose G.P. Smith (1909-21 L)
V.W. Smith^{*} (1921-32 U)
C.A. Ronning (1932-35 U)
W.N. Chant (1935-40 S)
D.B. Mullen^{⊙*} (1940-41 S)
C.I. Sayers (1941-- S)
24. Cardstone J.W. Woolf^{*} (1905-13 L)
M. Woolf (1913-21 L)
G.L. Stringom (1921-35 U)
N.E. Tanner (1935-52 S)
E.W. Hinman (1952-67 S)
A.F. Bullock (1967-- S)
25. Claresholm M. McKenzie^{*⊙} (1909-13 L)
W. Moffat (1913-17 L)
Mrs. McKenney (1917-21 I)
T.C. Milner (1921-26 I)
G.B. Walker (1926-35 U)
Became Claresholm-Nanton
26. Claresholm-Nanton G.B. Walker (1930-35 U)
H.O. Haslam (1935-40 S)
The constituency was abolished
and appropriated to Macleod,
Okotoks, High River.
27. Clearwater H.W. McKinney (1913-17 L)
J.E. State (1917-26 L)

- P.E. Baker[Ⓞ] (1926-30 U)
Became Cypress
28. Cloverbar
R. Hennig (1930-35 U)
F.M. Baker (1935-67 S)
W.A. Buck (1967-- S)
29. Coronation
W.F. Whiteside (1913-17 L)
W.W. Wilson (1917-21 C)
G.N. Johnston (1921-35 U)
G.N. MacLachlan (1935-40 S)
Joined to Acadia-Coronation
30. Cypress
P.E. Baker[Ⓞ] (1930-35 U)
W.W. Flamme (1935-40 S)
F.D. Jockson (1940-44 I)
Mrs. E.B. Thurstone (1944-48 S)
J.M. Underdahl (1948-55 S)
H. Strom (1955-- S)
31. Didsbury
J.E. Stauffer (1909-17 L)
H.P. Aikens (1917-21 L)
A.B. Claypool (1921-35 U)
E.P. Foster (1935-40 S)
E.M. Brown (1940-44 I)
H.G. Hemmelt (1944-55 S)
J.L. Owens^{*} (1955-60 S)
R.C. Clark (1960-63 S)
Joined with Olds

32. Drumheller F.C. Moyer (1930-35 I)
H. Ingray (1935-40 S)
G.E. Taylor (1940-63 S)
Became Drumheller-Gleichen
33. Drumheller-
Gleichen G.E. Taylor[⊙] (1963-- S)
34. Dunvegan J.M. Scruggs (1959-63 S)
E.L. Lee (1963-- S)
35. Edmonton C.W. Cross (1905-17 L)
A.J. Macdougall (1909-13 L)
A.F. Ewing (1913-21 C)
H.H. Crawford (1913-21 C)
J. Ramsay (1917-21 C)
M. MacClung (1921-26 L)
J.R. Boyle^{*⊙} (1921-24 L)
J.W. Hefferman (1921-26 L)
J.C. Bowlen (1921-26 L)
A.R. McLennan (1921-26 L)
W.T. Henry (1924-26 L)
J.F. Lymburn (1926-35 U)
C.Y. Weaver^{*} (1926-31 G)
C.L. Gibbs (1926-35 G)
W.W. Preway (1926-30 L)
D.U. Duggen^{*} (1926-42 C)
W.R. Howson^{*} (1930-36 L)
W.A. Atkinson (1930-35 C)
F.C. Jamieson (1931-35 C)

- S.G. Barnes (1935-40 C)
D.B. Mullen[⊙] (1935-40 S)
G.U. Allan^{*} (1935-37 L)
C. Conner (1935-40 L)
W. Morrish (1936-40 L)
Gray (1937-40 L)
E.C. Manning[⊙] (1940-59 S)
V. James (1940-48 S)
J.P. Page⁺ (1940-48 I) (1952-55 C)
H.J. Macdonald (1940-44 S)
E.E. Roper (1942-55 G)
W.J. Williams (1944-48 G)
H.B. McDonald (1944-48 S)
Dr. L.W. Heard (1948-52 S)
H. Prowse (1948-59 L)
C. Adams (1948-52 C)
J.D. Ross (1952-59 S)
E.H. Gerhart (1952-59 S)
N.E. Tanner (1952-59 L)
A.W. Miller (1955-59 L)
36. Edmonton Centre A. Holowach (1959-- S)
37. Edmonton North E.S. Wilson (1959-- S)
38. Edmonton North-
East L. W. Heard (1959-- S)
39. Edmonton North-
West E.H. Gerhart[⊙] (1959-- S)

40. Edmonton Norwood W. Todyn^{⊕+} (1959-- S)
41. Edmonton West G.S. Geldart (1963-67 S)
L.D. Hindman (1967-- C)
42. Edson C.W. Cross[⊕] (1917-26 L)
C. Pattinson (1926-35 G)
J.H. Unwin (1935-40 S)
A.J. Morrison (1940-44 G)
N.A. Willmore^{*} (1944-65 S)
W.N. Switzer^{*} (1965-69 L)
B. Dowling (1969-- C)
43. Empress W.C. Smith (1926-35 U)
D. Lush (1935-40 S)
Joined to Bow Valley
44. Gleichen C.A. Stuart^{*} (1905-06 L)
E.H. Riley^{*} (1906-10 L)
J.P. MacArthur^{*} (1910-17 L)
F. Davis (1917-21 C)
J.C. Buckley (1921-35 U)
J.M. McCune (1935-40 S)
D.J. McKinnan (1940-44 I)
G.E. Bell (1944-63 S)
Joined to Drumheller-Gleichen
45. Grande Prairie H.W. Allan (1926-35 U)
W. Sharpe (1935-40 S)
L.J. O'Brien (1940-44 I)
I. McLaughlin (1940-- S)

46. Grouard J.L. Cote⁺⁺ (1913-26 L)
 L.A. Giroux^{*} (1924-36 L)
 J.H. Tremblay (1936-44 L)
 W.A. Follow[⊙] (1944-48 S)
 J.B.T. Wood^{*} (1948-51 S)
 J.R. Defosses (1951-59 L)
 R.B. Ells (1959-- S)
47. Hand Hills R.B. Eaton (1913-21 L)
 G.A. Forster (1921-35 U)
W.W. Cross (1935-59 S)
 C.K. French (1959-63 S)
 Joined to Acadia-Hand Hills
48. High River A.J. Robertson (1905-09 C)
 L.M. Roberts (1909-13 L)
 G.D. Stanley (1913-21 C)
 S. Brown (1921-30 U)
 Became Okotoks-High River
49. Innisfail J.A. Simpson (1905-13 L)
 F.A. Archer (1913-17 C)
 D. Morkenberg (1917-21 L)
 D. Cameron (1921-35 U)
 A.E. Maclellan (1935-40 S)
 Joined to Red Deer
50. Jasper Place R.H. Jamieson (1959-63 S)
 J.W. Horan (1963-- S)
51. Lac la Biche H. Lobay (1952-55 S)
 M. Maccagno^{*} (1955-68 L)

52. Lac Ste Anne
- D. Bouier (1968-- S)
P. Gunn (1909-17 L)
G.R. Barker (1917-21 C)
M.C. McKeen (1921-35 U)
A.V. Bourier (1935-52 S)
A.M. Montemurro (1952-55 S)
J.A. Mills (1955-59 L)
W. Patterson (1959-67 S)
H. Horner (1967-- C)
53. Lacombe
- W.F. Puffer (1905-17 L)
A. Gilmour (1917-21 C)
Mrs. Parlby (1921-35 U)
D.B. MacMillan (1935-52 S)
A.R. Patrick (1952-- S)
54. Leduc
- R.T. Telford (1905-13 L)
S.G. Tolein (1913-26 L)
D.C. Briton (1926-30 U)
A.P. Mitchell (1930-35 L)
R.E. Ausley (1935-63 S)
J.D. Henderson (1963-- S)
55. Lethbridge
- L.G. DeVeber^{*} (1905-06 L)
W.C. Simmons^{*} (1906-09 L)
D. McNabb (1909-09 G)
W.A. Buchanan^{*} (1909-11 L)
J.S. Stewart (1911-21 C)
A. Smeaton (1921-35 L)
H.E. Wright^{*} (1935-37 S)

- P.M. Campbell (1937-44 I)
 J.C. Landeryou (1944-- S)
56. Lethbridge-Dt. A.J. Maclean (1909-13 L)
57. Littlebow J. McNaughton (1913-21 L)
O.L. MacPherson (1921-35 U)
 P. Dawson (1935-63 S)
R.A. Speaker (1963-- S)
58. MacLeod M. McKenzie (1905-09 L)
 C. Ginge (1909-10 L)
 R. Patterson (1910-17 C)
 G. Skelding (1917-21 L)
 W.H. Shield (1921-35 L)
J. Hartley (1935-67 S)
 L.E. Buckwell (1967-- S)
59. Medicine Hat W.T. Finlay^{*} (1905-10 L)
C.R. Mitchell (1910-13 L)
 N. Spencer (1913-21 C)
 P.E. Baker (1921-26 U)
 W.G. Johnston^{*} (1921-25 G)
 C.S. Pingle^{⊙*+} (1925-28 L)
 H. Lang (1928-35 L)
J.L. Robinson^{*} (1935-53 S)
 Mrs. Robinson^{*} (1953-61 S)
 H. Leinweber (1961-- S)
60. Nanton J.M. Glendenning (1909-17 L)
 J. Weir (1917-21 I)
 D.H. Galbraith (1921-30 U)

- Merged with Claresholm
61. Okotoks G. Hoadley (1909-30 U)
Became Okotoks-High River
62. Okotoks-High River G. Hoadley[⊙] (1930-59 U)
W. Morrison^{*} (1935-35 S)
W. Aberhart (1935-40 S)
J.T. Broomfield (1940-44 I)
I. Casey (1944-55 S)
R.L. Elis (1955-59 S)
E.G. Hansell (1959-63 S)
E.P. Benoit (1963-- S)
63. Olds D.M. Marshall (1909-21 L)
N.S. Smith (1921-30 U)
F.S. Grisdale (1930-35 U)
H.J. Ash (1935-40 S)
N.E. Cook^{*} (1940-50 S)
F.J. Niddrie (1950-59 S)
R.A. MacLeod (1959-63 S)
64. Olds-Didsbury R.C. Clark[⊙] (1963-- S)
65. Pakan P.E. Lessard (1909-13 L)
66. Peace River T.A. Brick (1905-09 L)
J.K. Cornwall (1909-13 L)
A. Patterson (1913-17 C)
W.A. Rae (1917-21 L)
D.M. Kennedy^{*} 1921-21 U)
H. Greenfield (1921-26 U)
H.W. Allan (1926-30 U)

- R.H. Bailey (1930-35 U)
W.J. Lampley (1935-40 S)
E.J. Marten (1940-44 I)
W.F. Gilliland* (1944-61 S)
E.F. Montgomery (1961-67 S)
R.H. Wiebe (1967-- S)
67. Pembina
W.H. McKenny (1909-13 L)
G. Macdonald (1913-21 L)
G. McLachlan⁺ (1921-35 U) (1940-44 I)
H.R. Brown (1935-40 S)
R.D. Jorgenson (1944-67 S)
A.C. Muller (1967-- S)
68. Pincher Creek
J.P. Marcellus (1905-09 L)
D. Warnock* (1909-11 L)
J. Kemmis (1911-21 C)
E.G. Cook (1921-30 U)
H. Bossenberry (1930-35 L)
R. Taylor (1935-40 S)
69. Pincher Creek-
 Crows Nest
L.E. Duke (1940-48 S)
W.A. Kovach* (1948-66 S)
G.A. Turcott (1966-67 G)
C.D. Drain (1967-- S)
70. Ponoka
J.R. McLeod (1905-09 L)
W.A. Campbell (1909-17 L)
C.O. Cunningham (1917-21 C)
P. Baker (1921-21 U)

- J.E. Brownlee (1921-35 U)
 E.B. Rogers (1935-40 S)
 P.A. McKelvey (1940-44 I)
 O.B. Moore (1944-52 S)
 G.F. Johnston (1952-67 S)
 N.S. Roper (1967-- S)
71. Red Cliff C.S. Pingle (1913-21 L)
 W.C. Smith (1921-26 U)
72. Red Deer J.T. Moore (1905-09 L)
 E. Michener* (1909-18 G)
 J.J. Gaetz (1918-21 L)
 G.W. Smith* (1921-31 U)
 W.E. Payne (1931-35 C)
 A.J. Hooke (1935-40 S)
 A. Speakman (1940-44 I)
D. Ure* (1944-56 S)
 W.J.C. Kirby (1954-59 C)
 W. Ure (1959-- S)
73. Red Water J.M. Popil (1940-48 S)
 P. Chaba (1948-55 S)
 A. Macyk (1955-59 L)
 J. Dubetz (1959-63 S)
 M. Senych (1963-- S)
74. Ribstone J.A. Turgeon (1913-21 L)
 C.O.F. Wright* (1921-22 U)
 W.G. Farquharson (1926-35 U)
 A.L. Blue (1935-40 S)

Assimilated by Sedgewick and
Wainwright constituencies

75. Rocky Mountain

House

C.M. O'Brien (1909-13 G)

R.E. Campbell (1913-21 C)

P.M. Christophers (1921-30 G)

G.E. Cruickshank (1930-35 I)

L.E.O. Duke[⊙] (1935-40 S)

A.J. Hooke[⊙] (1940-- S)

76. Rosebud

C. Heibert (1905-09 C)

77. St. Albert

W. McKinny (1905-09 L)

L. Boudreau⁺ (1909-21 L) (1926-30 L)

T. Arnaud (1921-26 U)

D. Germain (1930-35 U)

C.G. Holder⁺ (1935-40 S) (1944-48 S)

L.R. Teller (1940-44 I)

L.P. Maynard[⊙] (1948-55 S)

A.J. Soetaert (1955-59 L)

H.K. Everitt (1959-- S)

78. St. Paul

P.E. Lessard[⊙] (1913-21 L)

W.L. Joly (1921-30 U)

J.M. Dechene^{+⊙} (1930-35 L)

J.W. Beaudry (1935-52 S)

R. Reiersen (1952-- S)

79. Sedgewick

C. Stewart^{*} (1909-22 L)

A.G. Andrews (1920-35 U)

A.E. Fee (1935-52 S)

- J.C. Hillman (1952-63 S)
80. Sedgwick-
Coronation J.C. Hillman[⊙] (1963-- S)
81. Spirit River H.E. Debolt (1940-52 S)
A.O. Fimrite (1952-- S)
82. Stettler L.R. Shaw (1909-17 L)
E.H. Prudden (1917-21 L)
A.L. Sanders (1921-35 U)
C. Cockroft (1935-40 S)
C.A. Reynolds (1940-44 S)
W.S. Mackie (1944-52 S)
J.E. Clark^{*} (1952-56 S)
G.C. Norris (1956-- S)
83. Stony Plain J.A. McPherson (1905-13 L)
C. Weidenhammer (1913-17 C)
W.F. Lundy (1917-21 C)
W.M. Washburn (1921-30 U)
D. McLeod (1930-35 U)
W.E. Hays (1935-40 S)
Mrs. L.G.A. Wood⁺ (1940-55 S)
(1959-67 S)
J.H. McLaughlin (1955-59 L)
R.A. Jasperson (1967-- S)
84. Strathcona A.C. Rutherford (1905-13 L)
85. Strathcona Centre J.D. Ross[⊙] (1959-- S)
86. Strathcona East E.C. Manning^{*⊙} (1959-69 S)
W. Yurko (1969-- C)

94. Vegreville-Bruce A.W. Gordey[⊙] (1963-- S)
95. Vermillion M. McCaulay^{*} (1905-06 L)
 J.B. Holden (1906-09 L)
 A. Campbell (1909-10 L)
A.L. Sifton^{*} (1910-17 L)
 A.W. Ebbett (1917-21 L)
R.G. Reid (1921-35 U)
W.A. Follow (1935-44 S)
 W.R. Cornish (1944-55 S)
 R.J. Whitson (1955-59 L)
 A.H.C. Cooper (1959-- S)
96. Victoria F.A. Walker (1905-21 L)
 W. Fedun (1921-26 U)
 R. Henning (1926-30 U)
 P. Miskew (1930-35 U)
 S.W. Calvert (1935-40 S)
 Merged with Cloverbar and
 St. Albert
97. Wainwright G.E.L. Hudson (1913-21 C)
 J.R. Love (1921-35 U)
 W. Masson (1935-55 S)
H.A. Ruste (1955-- S)
98. Warner F.S. Leffingwell (1913-21 L)
 M.J. Conner (1921-35 U)
S.E. Low^{*⊙+} (1935-40 S) (1944-45 S)
 J.H. Walker (1940-44 I)

- L.C. Halmrast (1945-63 S)
 Merged with Taber
99. Wellington
 W. Tomy^o (1940-52 S)
 N.W. Dushenski (1952-59 G)
 N.A. Melnyk (1959-63 S)
 Became Wellington-Two Hills
100. Wellington-
 Two Hills
 N.A. Melnyk^o (1963-- S)
101. Wetaskiwin
 A.S. Rosenroll (1905-09 L)
 C.H. Olin^{*} (1909-14 L)
 H.J. Montgomery⁺ (1914-21 L)
 (1930-35 L)
 E.E. Sparks (1921-30 U)
 J.A. Wingblade (1935-63 S)
 A.W. Strohschein (1963-- S)
102. Whiteford
 A. Shandro⁺⁺ (1913-1922 L)
 M. Chornohus (1922-26 U)
 G. Milhalcheon (1926-30 U)
 I. Goresky (1930-35 U)
 W. Tomy (1935-40 S)
103. Soldiers
 Constituency
 R. Pearson (1917-21 A)
 R. MacAdams (1917-21 A)
 F.C. Colborne (A))
 H. Prowse (A)) (1944-48)
 Ward (A))

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